The date on which your subscription expires will be found on the label opposite your name.
The paper will be stopped on that day unless previously renewed.

WEEKLY PEOPLE

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittance must state distinctly how long they are to run.
Agents are personally charged with and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.

VOL. XIII, No. 12. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 20, 1903 PRICE TWO CENTS

Lib State Historical Soc

WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE?

One often hears the question, "What is the difference between the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist or Social Democratic Party?" The frequency with which the question occurs is a crack compliment to the astuteness of the men who attend to the political end of the interests of the class that fleeces the workingmen, women and children in the factories, shops, mines and yards of the land.

In 1890 the Socialist Labor Party set up its standard in the State of New York. It did so because by that time it had become clear to a sufficient number of citizens that the Republican and the Democratic parties were the political right and left arms of the labor-fleecing capitalist class. Whether the government was Democratic or Republican, its presidents, governors, legislatures, judiciaries, down to mayors and aldermen, uniformly threw the weight of their offices on the scale of the idle capitalist class and against the scale of the working class. The "rifle diet," administered through the military, the militia, the policemen's clubs and the judges' "Gatling guns on paper," at the order of Democratic and Republican officials, dyed the country red with the blood of the workers, and threw suffering into their homes.

The Socialist Labor Party perceived this fact; it also perceived the fact that, with slight reliefs now and then, the tendency was to aggravate the evil—the annual earnings of the workers declined and had to decline; finally, the Socialist Labor Party also perceived and stated the cause of the evil. It pointed out that the private ownership of the land, needed to work on, and of the machinery, needed to work with, enabled the holders of these to live in idle luxury, and compelled the workers to yield to the capitalists the wealth they needed to live in idleness, while the workers themselves had to starve on a pittance. Grounded upon these facts, the Socialist Labor Party called upon the working class and all other decent citizens to join it at the ballot box so as to overthrow the capitalist system by overthrowing the capitalist politicians, and to set up the Socialist Republic by the election of men pledged to overthrow the wage system of slavery.

This stand was taken in the State of New York first, in the campaign of 1890. The Socialist Labor Party spread steadily from State to State. The party's vote increased everywhere. It increased notably in this State. So marked was the current in its favor that since 1897 the election of the S. L. P. candidate from the Sixteenth Assembly District in New York county grew into more than a threatening possibility. In that year the Socialist Labor Party candidate came out second best in the Sixteenth Assembly District. The capitalist politicians no longer sneered at the Socialist Labor Party; they saw that it meant business. They then put their heads together to smash it. They understood that the smashing had to be done in the State of New York, and that it had to be begun in the Sixteenth Assembly District of New York City.

The coming event cast its shadow before it. During the campaign of 1898 several well known Democratic and Republican district leaders, late one night, grew reckless in their talk in one "Humpy" Hannover's saloon in the Sixteenth Assembly District, and turning to some S. L. P. men, known to be working hard for the S. L. P. ticket, said:

"If your candidate for the Assembly in this district polls a bigger vote than he did last year, we will next year take up some Socialist with a large following, and gather enough signatures to enable him to run as an opposition to your candidate."

This conversation appeared in print in The People of January 22, 1899, with no Social Democratic party yet in sight. The Socialist Labor Party poll in the Sixteenth Assembly District of New York rose over 400 votes in that year (1898). The rising waters threatened to drown the rats of the capitalist politicians, and they hastened to work to save their necks. The very next year, during the campaign stands sprang up on the corners of the streets in New York city, especially in the Sixteenth Assembly District, from which speakers, styling themselves Socialists, called upon the workingmen, "in the name of Socialism," not to vote the Socialist Labor Party ticket. They had not yet a ticket of their own to offer; their original plan was to capture the S. L. P. organization by midnight assault, but they had come off with broken heads for their pains; it had become too late to gather signatures and they satisfied themselves that year with simply raising dust by howling. Their audiences were furnished by the Tammany heelers, together with that corrupt element known as the "labor fakir," that has since been seen making common cause with Hanna and Schwab of the Steel Trust, and that periodically masquerade as Socialists. The next year they appeared with a ticket in New York and other States, and their name was "Social Democratic Party."

Kentucky stallions are not foaled by coyotes. Neither can Socialism be the offspring of political corruption. The conduct of the Social Democracy has been at all points in keeping with the purpose for which it was created, and, of course, with the element that brought it forth and dominates it, and, consequently, in sharp contrast with the Socialist Labor Party.

On July 10, 1899, a set of men, called together by the "New Yorker Volkszeitung," the private corporation that owns the "Worker," of that day, met on the Bowery. Without any warrant of right, they styled themselves the General Committee of Section New York; proceeded to "depose" all the officers of Socialist Labor Party,—national, State and local—; and decreed into their own hands the Party property:—the Party's name, emblem, and English organ, THE PEOPLE.

This little mob then armed itself with clubs, and sought to invade the Party's premises, and take possession. They were expected, and were kicked down and out.

They then proceeded to invoke the aid of the capitalist courts to carry out their plan of taking possession. By an uninterrupted series of final victories in court, the Socialist Labor Party repelled the assailants, and maintained its rights. Its name, its emblem and its press remained in its hands.

Thus, twice roundly beaten on the very fields that the above-named little mob had chosen to fight on—the field of physical encounter on the night of July 10, and subsequently the capitalist courts—, these "Volkszeitung" gentlemen felt cold and lonesome, and, together with their kin in other parts of the country, they rushed to conceal their smallness in the "Social Democratic," which has since adopted the name of the "Socialist," party.

The series of steps taken by the leaders of the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist" party in setting up a party in opposition to the Socialist Labor Party, were taken to the tune of "Tyranny!" "Freedom!"

What was the "Tyranny!" that these gentlemen were fleeing from, and what the "Freedom" that they were fleeing to?

The following record of their feats answers the thrilling question:

In 1900, the Social Democrat, John C. Smith, ran in the Worcester, Mass., district on both the Democratic and the Social Democratic party tickets, with the knowledge, consent and approval of his Social Democratic organization.

In that same year, G. A. Hoehn of St. Louis, now a member of the National Executive Committee of the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist" party, joined the deputy sheriffs of his city during the St. Louis street car strike.

In that same year the Social Democrats in the municipal government of Brockton, Mass., voted franchises to private corporations, free, gratis and for nothing.

In the spring of 1901, the Social Democrat, Morris Eichmann, ran for office in West Hoboken, N. J., on the Republican, the Democratic, the Citizens and the Social Democratic tickets, with the knowledge, consent and approval of his Social Democratic organization.

In the fall of 1901, the Social Democrat, Andrew Holmes, a political jobholder, as street commissioner, by the grace of the Democratic party, ran for office on the Social Democratic ticket in Peekskill, N. Y.

In the fall of 1901, the Social Democrat, Edward Straub, ran for office in Syracuse on the Social Democratic ticket, and simultaneously figured on the official Democratic primary ballot, and as a delegate to the Democratic ward convention.

In Peekskill, N. Y., Seth Tabor figures as a Social Democrat and is a political job-holder by the grace of the Republican party.

In San Francisco, Cal., two Social Democrats, Everett and King applied to the Democratic mayor for political jobs in 1900, got them and kept them, with the approval of their Social Democratic organization.

In Troy, N. Y., John Foley, a notorious ward heeler for the Democratic ex-Senator Murphy, ran in 1901 on the Social Democratic ticket for president of Common Council, while openly declaring he would vote the Democratic ticket straight.

In 1901, a New York city Social Democrat, Albert F. Hoeltzer, appeared as vice-president on an official call for a "German Tammany Hall" meeting on the West Side, without even provoking the censure of his Social Democratic organization.

In Haverhill, Mass., James A. Carey, Social Democrat, alias "Socialist" party man, voted a $15,000 appropriation for an armory, declares he would do it again and his conduct passes even unchallenged by his Social Democratic organization.

In New York city the Volkszeitung, German organ of the Social Democracy, notoriously took money to advertise capitalist political candidates.

At the election held in Webster, Mass., on April 7, 1902, John E. Carty appeared as candidate for town clerk on the "Socialist" (Social Democratic) party official ticket and also on the regular Democratic party official ticket.

At the same election held in the same place, James Farrell appeared as the candidate for warden on the regular Democratic party official ticket and also on the Social Democratic or "Socialist" party official ticket.

At the same election and same place Webster, Mass., election, Martin V. B. Back ran simultaneously on the official tickets of both the Social Democratic alias "Socialist" party, and of the regular Democratic party for assessor.

In Peekskill, N. Y., at the election held March 4, Seth Tabor ran on the Social Democratic ticket for village trustee, and was endorsed by the regular Democratic party, whose press did all it could to promote his election, and the endorsement was not repudiated by the Social Democratic party.

In Abington, Mass., at the election held March 3, 1902, Charles H. Bickford ran for park commissioner simultaneously on the official ballots of the regular Democratic and the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist," parties.

In the same town and at the same election, Frank C. Bates appeared as the official candidate on the official ballots of the Citizens and of the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist," party.

At the elections of 1902, E. J. Livernash was a Democratic and a "Socialist" party candidate in the Fourth San Francisco Congressional District.

At the elections in November, 1902, in New Britain, Ct., Geo. W. Klett ran for Judge of Probate on the Republican and the so-called Socialist ticket.

In Mesa County, Colorado, C. P. McCary, Democratic alderman of Second Ward, Grand Junction, ran for Senate on the so-called Socialist ticket.

On November 23, the Marion, Ind., local of the so-called Socialist party was reorganized by the State Committee with one John W. Kelly who, elected to the City Council on the "Socialist" ticket, voted franchises to private corporations. He "had broken no rules" was the argument for Kelly.

In Belleville, Ill., John Wachter, organizer of the so-called Socialist party, is a worker for the Democratic party.

At the November, 1902, election in Harris county, Texas, E. H. Vasner ran for county judge on the "Socialist" ticket, and simultaneously on the Republican, Independent Democratic and Populist tickets.

At the spring election of 1903 in Schuylkill county, Pa., the so-called "Socialist," alias Social Democratic party, fused with the Republican party in the Kline township, and with the Democratic party in Rahn township.

In April, 1903, W. J. Johnson, candidate for alderman on the Bogus Socialist ticket in Chicago, received the endorsement of the Municipal Voters' League, a capitalist organization, and appeared among the list of the League's "approved" candidates published in the Chicago Record-Herald, Tribune and Daily News.

At Hartford, Conn., in the municipal election in April, 1903, among the candidates of the so-called Socialist party no less than four—Martin J. Riga, John Rubenbauer, August Hartsman and Albert L. Miller, for Councilmen in the Seventh, First, Fifth and Ninth wards, respectively—are enrolled on the caucus list of the Republican party; and not less than five of its candidates—John J. Fitzgibbons, Henry F. Banman, Joseph R. Brannigan, Alfred T. Tivey and John R. Riley, for Councilmen in the First, Third and Fifth wards, for Aldermen in the Seventh ward, and for High School Commissioner, respectively—are simultaneously enrolled on the caucus list of the Democratic party.

These are but a few of the undeniable facts in the official and unsavory record of the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist," party on the political side. Its record on the industrial side of the Labor Movement cuts an equally broad swath of treason to the working class.

There is no act of infamy committed by the Labor Lieutenants of the Hannas against the welfare of the working class but the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist," party either shuts its eyes to or applauds. Whether it is the furnishing of deputy marshals to the cigar manufacturers of Tampa, in order to lower the wages of the "Spanish workers"; or whether it is the helping of the employers of machinists to deceive these into believing that they have won a victory; or whether it is the bleeding of the workers for money under the false pretence of keeping up a strike, when the real reason is to support a lot of scamps as "pickets" and "strike committees" long after the strike is known to be hopelessly lost, as in the great cigarmakers' strike in New York city in 1900; or whether it is the base surrender of the miners' strike at the hour of victory by John Mitchell, or whether it was the action of the Fakir Tobin of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union in furnishing jail birds and Canadian laborers to break the strike of the Knights of Labor cutters at Lynn, Mass.;—whatever the infamy may be that these Labor Lieutenants of the Hannas have in hand, the Social Democratic, alias "Socialist," party and its press stand by them, praise their conduct as a "noble waging of the class struggle," and spew its calumnies at the Socialist Labor Party for fearlessly opposing that scabby pack of Labor Lieutenants of the capitalist class.

Is there any doubt what the "Tyranny!" is that the "Socialist," alias Social Democratic, party condemns in the Socialist Labor Party? Is there any doubt what the "Freedom!" is that that bogus Socialist concern is after?

Like a veritable criminal the Social Democratic party traveled over the country under a number of aliases. In some States it called itself "Socialist party." In Massachusetts its official designation was long "Democratic Social party" until it changed that into "Socialist" party. In Pennsylvania its style was "Public Ownership party." In New York it sails as "Social Democratic party." Of course, everywhere it pretends to be a Socialist party, and, aided by the Republican-Democratic capitalist press, it raises confusion everywhere. True enough, nowhere can its defamations of the Socialist Labor Party gain credence. But it is equally true that nowhere are the masses sufficiently posted to see through the fraud; the impression carried away by most people is the absurd one that "the Socialists are divided;" discouragement is thus created, and the masses that would otherwise be moving toward and centering within the Socialist Labor Party are scattered to the four winds—and that was the purpose back of the launching of the Social Democratic party: the labor-fleecing class, together with its lackeys, the "Organized Scabbery," breathes freer.

The present condition of the public mind, created by this move of the Democratic-Republican politicians, proves their astuteness. But their astuteness can have play-room only so long as lack of sound information continues to mark the public mind. This fact points to the burning needs of the present. Sound information must be scattered so plentifully that none but the hopelessly stuffable can be misled. Then none need ask, "What is the difference between the Socialist Labor Party and the Social Democratic party?" Whoever has brains to think for himself will then be able to pick his own way out of the chaos.

The Social Democratic, alias "Socialist," party is a decoy duck of the capitalist parties.

The Socialist Labor Party is the sole political organization that intrepidly and unsmashably faces the foe of the working class. It alone is entitled to the support of a serious, honorable and intelligent man.

CURRENT COMMENT.

The "unswerving rectitude, unimpeachable honor, and consistent devotion to truth and morality" of the capitalist class, by means of which, according to their intellectual hirelings, they achieve enormous wealth, is now on exhibition in the suit brought against the United States Shipbuilding Co., for the appointment of a receiver, by first mortgage bondholders.

Lewis Nixon and Charles M. Schwab are charged in this suit with wrongfully obtaining millions by means of deception and fraud. It is charged that Schwab bought the Bethlehem Steel Works for $3,000,000 above the $9,000,000 in mortgages then on the property; and that he sold it to the shipbuilding company for $40,000,000, or about $27,000,000 more than he paid for it. It is further charged that Schwab controls the shipbuilding company and that the plan of reorganization, which is the cause of the suit for receiver is solely in his interest. This plan of reorganization would wipe out the first mortgage bondholders and enable Schwab to rfeceive back all he sold to the company, AND GET ALL ITS PROPERTIES AND ASSETS BESIDES.

It may be said that the suit is brought for the purpose of "bleeding" Schwab. Whether it is or not is immaterial. All concerned are capitalists. All concerned are exemplifications of that peculiar "rectitude," "honor," "truth and devotion," otherwise known as chicanery, fraud and robbery, that bring millions to the coffers of the criminal capitalist class.

OHIO SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

(Special Correspondence to The Daily and Weekly People.)

Canton, O., June 8.—The following is the ticket nominated by the State Convention of the Socialist Labor Party at Columbus on May 30:

Governor—John D. Goerke, Cleveland.
Lieutenant Governor—David F. Cronin, Hamilton.
Auditor of State—William Garrity, Akron.
Treasurer of State—John H. T. Juergens, Canton.
Attorney General—Otto Steinhoff, Columbus.
Judge of Supreme Court—Francis Henry, Sherrodsville.
Member Board of Public Works—Israel Hauser, Columbus.
Commissioner of Public Schools—Frank E. Young, Cincinnati.

The convention was held at Buckeye Hall and was called to order by James Matthews, secretary of the S. E. C., at 9 o'clock a. m., and organized temporarily, with David F. Cronin, of Hamilton, in the chair, and John H. T. Juergens, Canton, as secretary.

B. F. Martz, of Columbus, on behalf of Section Columbus, S. L. P., welcomed the delegates, upon which the following were elected a committee on credentials: Nordholt, Hamilton; Steinhoff, Columbus, and Matthews, Cleveland.

While this committee was out it was voted to send the following dispatch of congratulation and encouragement to S. L. P. State convention at Patton, Pa.:

"To the State Convention of the Socialist Labor Party of Pennsylvania, Goldstein's Hall, Patton, Pa.: Comrades—The S. L. P. State Convention of Ohio sends greetings and best wishes to the convention of the stalwarts of Pennsylvania in their struggle for the emancipation of the working class. Three cheers for the fighting revolutionary S. L. P.!

"State Convention, S. L. P. of Ohio."

The Credential Committee reported following delegates present: From Cleveland, Kircher, Goerke, Dinger, Reimann, Brown, Christiansen, Rugg, Zillmer, Sherbarth, Frank, Koeppel and Nuhn; Canton, Juergens and T. A. Goerke; Hamilton, Cronin and Nordholt; Columbus, Freer, Steinhoff and Adams; State Executive Committee, J. Matthews, of Cleveland.

All were seated and the temporary organization made permanent, Matthews being elected assistant secretary.

The following committees were elected: Resolutions, Georke, Cleveland; Steinhoff and Nordholt; Nominations, Goerke, Canton; Adams and Brown. S. E. C. report, Juergens, Freer and Kircher.

The report of the S. E. C. was read by Matthews and referred to proper committee.

In order to give the various committees an opportunity to work, a recess of thirty minutes was taken, after which the committee on resolutions presented its report, which consisted of two parts, a majority and a minority report. The latter (too lengthy to be inserted here) was referred to the State Committee as a basis for a campaign leaflet. The majority report brought forth considerable discussion, but was adopted unanimously.

Following are the resolutions:

The Socialist Labor Party of Ohio, in convention assembled, reaffirms its allegiance to the national organization, the S. L. P. of the United States. We hereby indorse the national platform of the party, its tactics and policy of propaganda and political activity, together with its attitude toward pure and simple trades unionism, and declare ourselves in accord with the principles of the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance in its economic struggle against capitalist oppression.

We pledge our financial and moral support to the official organs of the party, The Daily, Weekly and Monthly People, Soziolistische Arbeiter Zeitung and Arbetaren.

In order that the capitalist class and its political parties of all shades; its press and mouthpieces; its hirelings and camp followers may be thoroughly apprised of the fact that the incoherent discontent of the working class, superinduced by the acute oppression suffered by it, has crystalized into a class conscious political movement, whose tactics in politics bespeak a determination and aggressiveness that promises ultimate success, and in order that the working class may be awakened from its lethargy, its stupid and labored attempt at studied contentment, we submit to the former as a challenge, to the latter as a call to arms, the following

Resolutions:

Whereas, the capitalist system of production within the course of its development has concentrated into the hands of a small capitalist class practically all the land upon which and all the modern implements with which to produce the necessaries and luxuries of life, and has left the working class, by far the greater portion of society, propertyless wage slaves, whose productive activity (labor power) has become a merchandise upon the market, in commercial parlance classed as "labor" among all other salable articles. Its price, commonly called wages, is subject to the economic laws determining the price of all other merchandise, and can never, as a whole or permanently, rise above the actual cost of subsistence of the laborer and the propagation of his species, and

Whereas, the constant development of the means of production and distribution and its mode of application is bringing on the inevitable downfall of production on a small scale and with it the gradual annihilation of the middle class, creating on the one side an idle parasitical class of large capitalists and on the other an ever-increasing class of wage slaves, left to struggle against misery and want at intensified toil or enforced idleness, the latter of which is a sure producer of vice and crime, and

Whereas, to struggle against this development, to attempt the prevention of or the destruction of existing ones through reactionary measures, is but the death struggle of the middle class, continually exploited for political purposes by demagogues, and

Whereas, there can be no identity of interests between the profit-craving capitalist exploiters (whose success depends upon the ever-increasing dividends of their corporations, which means either more perfected machinery, thereby throwing more labor upon the market, more and harder work from their wage slaves or a reduction of wages), and the exploited working class, who, under this system is the helpless victim of all its evil effects, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the cry of harmony and identity of interests between capital and labor is born of either fraud or ignorance. That the Socialist Labor Party recognizes the existence of a class struggle and acts accordingly in the field of politics. That the Republican party, claiming to represent all the people, is the direct servant of the capitalist class, which it has proven to be time and again by using the police, militia, the courts and their injunctions against workingmen on strike. That the Democratic party, claiming to represent the common people against monopoly "and organized greed," and whose ultimate control is in the hands of the very capitalists profiting thereby, is but the emasculated champion of middle class interests, ever ready to use against the working class the same weapons as the Republican party. That the working class has no interests with the little robbers in their struggle with the big ones. That pure and simple trades unions, whose leaders advocate harmony between employer and employe as the ultimate aim of unionism, and who tacitly and outspokenly indorse capitalist political parties and their candidates as being "friendly to labor," are being misled and betrayed, and that such leaders are traitors to their class; and be it further

Resolved, That it is in harmony with progress and civilization that the means of production and distribution cease to be private property of the few, but that they become the collective property of all the people. Therefore, we demand that the capitalist class surrender them to society. Only then will class rule and class distinctions be abolished and the producer enjoy the full and undivided benefit of his toil, and be it

Resolved, That the Socialist Labor Party is the only political movement aiming at the above outlined social revolution, whose tactics are in accord with the principles of the class struggle; that the so-called "Socialist party" is a political fraud, holding a compromising position in its fusing tactics with capitalist parties and in its defense and support of the traitorous leaders of trades unions. He who would vote for the Socialist Republic must vote for the Socialist Labor Party.

The committee on nominations then made its report, which was taken up ad seriatim with the result given above.

The noon hour having arrived, the convention adjourned until I o'clock p. m.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The session opened at the proper time with D. F. Cronin in the chair.

The Auditing Committee reported that they had examined the financial report of the State Secretary and found same correct. Adopted.

(Full report of S. E. C. is attached. See appendix.)

The "Party Press" was the next subject for discussion, which culminated in a resolution approving of the plan adopted by The Daily People Finance Committee to finance the paper and instructing the delegates to bring this matter before their respective sections and urging them to do all in their power to aid the committee.

Agitation was next on the programme. A motion to put a canvasser in the field was lost, it being the sense of the convention that sections should do locally whatever possible, and where there is a good opportunity to visit neighboring towns and carry on the agitation; the State Committee to furnish speakers, when and where it would result in the most good.

Cleveland was unanimously chosen as the seat of the State Executive Committee, the latter being authorized to fill such vacancies which may occur on the ticket.

Comrade Dinger, of Cleveland, was then granted the floor to present the following resolution on

Trades Unions.

"Whereas, the attitude of the S. L. P. of the State of Ohio is in full accord with the principles and tactics of the S. L. P. of the United States; and

"Whereas the attiude of the S. L. P. toward trades unions is at present grossly misinterpreted by the agents of the capitalist class as well as by their outposts, the pure and simple trades unions, and more especially the counterfeit Socialists of all shades, therefore,

"We deem it expedient to again publicly make clear our position with regard to this important question.

"We realize that on the basis of capitalist society labor power is a commodity and under this system the prices of commodities are subject to the fluctuations of the market caused by the varying supply and demand.

"The economic struggle of the working class for an improvement of its condition is a fact inseparable from and arising out of the commodity character of labor power. It is the clash of interests between the buyers and sellers of a commodity, the outcome of which is determined by the conditions of the market—in the case of capital and labor, the labor market.

"As is natural under the above stated conditions, the wage workers resort to organization as the means to wring concessions from the capitalist class.

"While we realize that in union there is strength, we do not fail to perceive the crowning fact that this strength can only spring from union, when such a union is affected with a full understanding not only of the aim of such a union, but also of the relation, powers and weaknesses of the powers arrayed against it. If these latter facts are not taken into consideration a union does not alone become impotent, but positively fatal to itself. It may be likened to a stampeded herd of cattle that heedlessly dashes over a precipice and there falls to its doom, or a stampede in a public assemblage with its trail of death and destruction. That this is the case is amply proven by the recent great industrial struggles of the working class as organized under the pure and simple labor unions. Under this leadership thousands of workers fighting for an improvement in their conditions, as in the coal fields of Pennsylvania, as well as in all industrial centers of this country, have been stampeded back to the slaughtering pens of capitalism.

A war that does not aim at ultimate peace cannot mean anything else but senseless and continuous slaughter of its weakest participants, which in this case is the working class, being, as it is, marshalled by the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class—the Gomperses, Mitchells, etc.—who cry harmony between capital and labor, where no harmony is possible.

"Being aware of the above conditions, the S. L. P. would not deserve its honored title, "Labor Party," if it did not most emphatically denounce the pure and simple method of organization as a hotbed of fakirs and traitors to the wage working class; be it, therefore,

"Resolved, That the S. L. P. of Ohio, in convention assembled, warn our fellow wage slaves wherever found against affiliation with pure and simple trades unions, we declare them to be the means whereby they are delivered bound hand and foot into the shambles of capitalism at wholesale rates; and, be it further

"Resolved, That we recommend to the workers to join wherever possible the only bona fide organization on the economic field—the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance; an organization that recognizes that the aim of any organization of the wage working class must be the ultimate abolition of the system of wages through intelligent class conscious action at the ballot box by way of the Socialist Labor Party, in the meantime to exact the best possible conditions for the working class from the capitalists; and, be it further

"Resolved, That we look with suspicion upon any attempt to sever the S. T. & L. A. and the S. L. P. (as advocated by Section Everett, Mass., etc.), and that we hold the economic and political struggle of the working class against capitalism to be inseparable. Up with the banner of the S. L. P. and her twin sister, the S. T. & L. A., and the wage slaves can be assured of an army of emancipation that is invincible."

During the discussion that followed a

(Continued on page six)

RAILROAD PHILANTHROPY

When the Board of Aldermen of the city of New York had under consideration the proposition of the Pennsylvania Railroad to tunnel under the North and East rivers and the city of New York, the Board brought up the question of the relationship existing between the company and its employes. This was a little side play by the city fathers for the purpose of throwing dust in the eyes of the workers, without whose votes they could not be elected. Of course, the railroad company was only too glad of the opportunity to tell the world of the "brotherly love" existing between the exploited men and the concern that exploits them. No less a personage than Mr. A. J. Cassatt, the president of the company, in a letter to the Aldermen vouched for the existence of this brotherly relationship. True there were no communications from the men as to this fraternalism, but who would dare deny the assertions of the honorable president?

A portion of President Cassatt's letter to the Aldermen is as follows:

"As far as the Pennsylvania Railroad is concerned, its relations to labor, organized and unorganized, are of the most friendly character. It does not ask its employes whether they belong to the one class or to the other class. It only asks for and insists upon faithful service. It pays them their wages promptly; it administers a fund which takes care of them in case of sickness or accident, and when their days of usefulness are over it provides them with a pension which cares for them in their declining years. As far as it has anything to do with the labor question, it will in the future, as in the past, deal justly and generously with those either directly or indirectly in the service."

The Pennsylvania Railroad Company occupies such a commanding position in the railroad world that before taking up the claim to philanthropy made by its president it may be well to consider a little of the history of the road.

The Pennsylavnila Railroad was organized in 1846, just fifty-seven years ago. The line at first extended from Harrisburg to Pittsburg, a distance of 248 miles. This mileage was supplemented by the "purchase" of the State road from Philadelphia to Columbia and the lease of a road from Columbia to Harrisburg. These extensions enabled trains to run from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, 354 miles. Trains began to run between these points in 1853. The road now extends from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River, with numerous diverging connections from the main lines, traevrsing the territory from the Great Lakes southward to the Potomac and Ohio rivers. In the aggregate the company has 10,555 miles of road with a trackage of 19,000 miles. The road covers over a dozen States, the great manufacturing States, the coal-producing States. The Pennsylvania Railroad is not only a mighty railroad, but an important water transportation concern as well. Its water lines on the Great Lakes, Chesapeake Bay and Long Island Sound cover a distance of 2,992 miles, while the company's close traffic arrangements with certain European steamship lines practically makes its terminals in Europe instead of in New York or Philadelphia. These figures will give some idea of the size of the system.

Perhaps a better idea of the status of the company can be formed from a knowledge of the amount of business done by it. The 1901 report of the Interstate Commerce Commission shows that the Pennsylvania Railroad system carried in that year 22.35 per cent. of all the tonnage, and 17.20 per cent. of all the passengers carried by all the railroads in the United States. The same report shows that of the gross earnings the Pennsylvania Railroad had 12,72 per cent., which, it is said, was increased about 10 per cent. in 1902.

But if these figures do not convey an impression as to the size of this corporation a still better idea may be formed by considering the number of employes who "enjoy" the "advantages" set forth by President Cassatt. The number of employes in the serivce of the company on Dec. 31, 1902, was 151,000. These are the men directly in the service of the company in its operation of the road. No account is taken of the number of men in the employ of contractors who are doing work for the company, nor of those workers engaged in producing material solely for the use of the company.

These figures give but a faint idea of the tremendous development in railroading that has taken place in the last fifty years. At first the railroads were of limited extent and differed mechanically, so that through traffic could not pass from one to the other without transferring. Less than twenty-five years ago there were five different widths of track in use in this country. With the consolidation of the properties came uniformity, so that to-day passengers and freight may move from coast to coast without transfer, whereas, in times past there would have been three or four transfers of both passengers and freight between New York and Chicago. But from what has preceded an idea as been found as to the size of the immense machine known as the Pennsylvania Railroad, it will also be realized how important it is to keep all the parts of the mechanism running without friction. One of the important features of railroading is lubrication. Lack of lubrication may produce a "hot box" that will upset the whole schedule of a division.

Thus, too, anything that disturbs the "harmony" existing between the company and its employes upsets the entire system. It is no small task to bring about and preserve "harmonious" relations between the company and its employes, but as there is a department of the company devoted to the lubrication of the machinery, which reduces such things as "hot boxes" to a minimum, so, too, there is a department of—let us call it harmonization, the purpose of which is to reduce labor troubles to a minimum.

The methods, or rather the schemes, in force are paternalistic in nature, and are devised so as to impress the worker with the belief that his interests are bound up with the company. Nevertheless, the real purpose of the schemes is to hamstring the worker at every turn should he endeavor to assert his manhood and strive to wrench better conditions from the company. There are five schemes with well defined plans, as follows:

Relief Fund.

Superannuation Fund for members of Relief Fund only.

Pension Fund.

Railroad Y. M. C. A.'s, Libraries and Hospitals.

Before going into a consideration of these schemes it will be well to look into the conditions that brought them forth.

In the early days of railroading these things would have been laughed at, especially by the men. As the roads developed they offered opportunities to wage workers and the wages then were high, as compared with other occupations. At that time the development of machinery in all industries had not so heavily overcrowded the labor market as is the case to-day. But the good times did not last forever. In 1874 Col. Thomas A. Scott, the then president, considered the question of "providing aid" for sick and disabled employes, as well as "death benefits" for families of those dying in the service. Scott looked into the matter with a view to probable cost, and it may be, that he figured on the company standing the cost. It is said that at the time conditions were not favorable for introducing such a plan; perhaps the cost was too high—anyway, a later management got up a scheme whereby the company gets a lot of credit for goodness, while the employes really pay the cost out of their wages.

It may be well here to digress a little and give some of the writer's experiences in the railroad business. In 1882, when the writer, then a lad, entered the business, he often heard the old timers relate the traditions of the early days of railroading, when big wages and comparatively easy times prevailed in it. In that golden age railroad men could live well and still put something by for the time when, as Mr. Cassat puts it, "their usefulness was over." Men that I saw working in shabby clothing boasted of the days when they had gone to work arrayed in good broad cloth and wearing silk hats. The life was not near so strenuous then as now; freight from New York was not delivered in Chicago in 60 hours, and consequently there was not that rapidity demanded in all departments that marks the railroading of to-day.

In the old times he was a "slob" clerk indeed who got less than $75 per month, while some years ago, according to a capitalist publication, the average wage of railroadmen had fallen to less than $45 per month. And this avcrage prevailed despite the fact that to strike it all salaries from the $50,000-per-year presidents down had been counted in. As there has been for many years a steady decline in all wages, the average of $45 per month is no doubt too high a figure for the present day, and this notwithstanding the recent 10 per cent. advances owing to the high prices of the necessaries of life.

It is a well known fact that wage increases never equal previous wage cuts and when the next reduction comes in the railroad business the 10 per cent. advance will be wiped out, and more, too.

In the old days the officials, who had themselves comes from the ranks, took care as the men grew old to find them easier jobs, with no reduction in pay. This being taken care of as they wore out was jocularly referred to by the men of that time as going on the "farm" or at work, the rest of the men turned in and did the absent one's work, and it cost the company nothing extra. In those days the bond of sympathy between the men and officials, due largely, no doubt, to the sentiment of early association, was very strong and in latter days it took positive orders from headquarters to sever it. The old timers of the Pennsylvania Railroad were proud of their occupation and had many stories to relate of their independence in the days before the road had entry to Jersey City, and when passengers and freight were carried from New York to Perth Amboy by boat. Most of the old timers are gone now. Those of them who are still alive, slowly going to decay, live the solid old houses still standing in the Amboys, which the company once built and rented to its men, because suitable houses there were scarce and employes could not otherwise be induced to stay. These old timers eke out a miserable existence on the niggardly pension granted by the company and what odd jobs they can get.

To-day the railroad man leads the strenuous life if any one does. The old time social hours during business are unknown. The railroad man who drinks nowadays does not do so as a social pleasure; he seeks it as a stimulant to drive his jaded nerves. I know what it means to peg away for fourteen hours of steady, uninterrupted work of brain and hand. I know what it is to munch a dry sandwich while the attention is held by a long column of figures. All railroad work must be done on time, and the tensest kind of attention is required. Accuracy and rapidity is the motto. Offices are generally damp, ill ventilated and bad smelling. Stations seem to be constructed with an eye to making them as disagreeable for the workers as possible. Toilet accommodations are usually so vile that the men are forced to patronize the saloons nearby. In the barnlike affairs along the river front in wintry weather one is much worse off than if exposed to the fury of the blast. Weighing clerks sit all day in unheated boxes, from which they dare not stir. Delivery clerks, the same. I never hear the word checker but there rises up before me the wretched and benumbed figure of the poor creature who stands all day and far into the night by the car door, on a wind-swept flat. With fingers swollen and sore he copies the markings of packages; the only light he has is the faint flicker from the oil lamp he carries on his arm. Woe to him if he gets the marks wrong or puts a package into a car in which it should not go.

I remember an instance where a man carding cars got a wrong card on a car of perishable freight. It was in midwinter and owing to his mistake the freight was about a total loss. He had carded hundreds of such cars without making an error. From the general office down through the various grades of officials came the reprimand, and it gathered in force and bitterness as it passed along until finally the storm broke over the head of the offending workman. This man had great responsibilities thrust upon his poorly paid shoulders. He got but 17 cents per hour while working. He had been on duty from 7 o'clock in the morning, and the mistake was made about 10 o'clock at night. This man had to place various cards on the cars on the float. One card showed the destination and route, another the train on which the car was to go; other cards gave other information signifying whether or not the car contained perishable freight, and if the fire was to be kept burning or not. To card the cars and seal them the man had to travel along the narrow rail of the float, which was covered with ice. Under one arm he carried the cards, on the other arm he had a lantern; in one hand a hammer, the other hand was partly free to help him navigate; his mouth was full of tacks and the icy wind blew a gale. The wonder was that he wasn't swept overboard, a thing that often happens to these workers.

Mr. Cassatt says the company deals justly and generously with those in its service. I witnessed two strikes of the freight handlers, in both of which the company fought the strikers tooth and nail and defeated them. Both strikes were for an increase of three cents an hour—the men were getting 17 cents and wanted 20 cents. The generous Pennsylvania Railroad fed the strike-breakers from its big restaurant in Jersey City, and the strike-breakers were brought in the back door of the railroad piers in excursion boats. Squads of police were kept at each station ready to smash in the heads of any strikers who dared put in an appearance. I do not know what was allowed the police by the Pennsylvania Railroad, but I know of one company that allowed the cops so much per day as "meal" money, besides cigars and other "necessaries." For these little favors the cops wielded their clubs more vigorously on the heads of the strikers than if their "interests" had not been "identical" with the interests of the company.

It was during one of these strikes that an agent of the Pennsylvania Railroad, which deals justly with its men, called in the services of a priest, who advised the men not to go out, the agent at the same time promising the men to use his utmost endeavors to get them an increase in wages. The men stayed in, but they never got an increase. While the priest and agent were advising the men not to go out another official of the Pennsylvania Railroad, who was also a Police Commissioner of Jersey City, had filled up the yard with cops ready tending a crossing gate. If sick an employe was continued on the payrool as if to terrorize the men in case they had struck. The freight handler's life is one of hard toil, low pay and irregular hours of work. They must report at 7 o'clock in the morning and if no cars are in they must hang around until wanted. If not there when wanted they go to the foot of the list. In winter the men have no place in which to wait except the saloons. When busy the freight handlers often work far into the night without a break even for supper. For these reasons they must live near their work and consequently have to live in vile tenements. The work, besides being hard, has its dangers, and the clang of an ambulance bell as it turns into a railroad pier excites no comment. Then, again, there is freight that is dangerous to health to handle, stinking bundles of hides and packages of chemicals which if touched send clouds of poisonous matter into the air. On a cold winter's day the horses that the company uses will be housed in a warm stable while getting their midday meal, but the freight handler can sit in the cold blast or seek the comfort of the saloon.

I remember an instance in which men were lured by officials of the company into box cars, the doors locked upon them, and when they were let out they found themselves near Trenton, brought there for the purpose of breaking a strike. The strikers being Italians and greatly outnumbering the strike-breakers, the latter, fearing they could not make themselves understood, went to work. Two or three who refused were ordered off the company's property and were beaten by the strikers.

It is only about a month since that the Pennsylvania Railroad, in company with the New York Central and Lehigh Valley, gathered up men in New York and other seaport towns, and, under false representations, took them to Buffalo and other lake ports to break the strike of the firemen and oilers on the company's lake lines. When the first batch, who could speak English, arrived, they refused to do the dirty work required of them. The companies refused to give them transportation back to New York, and the victims of the just and generous Pennsylvania Railroad were compelled to appeal to the public authorities for aid. After this experience the companies gathered up men who could not speak English. The strike was broken, and the companies, having no further use for the strike-breakers, the strikers were allowed to get at them and drive them away from the company's property.

But to return to a consideration of the Pennsylvania Railroad's philanthropic schemes. Let us take first the Relief Fund. Mr. M. Riebenack, the assistant comptroller of the Pennsylvania Railroad, in an address last February before the Economic Club of Boston, in speaking of "What the Pennsylvania Railroad Company is Doing for the Benefit of Its Employes," referring to the Relief Fund, said, among other things, that it was "to avoid the necessity of voluntary subscriptions being made by co-employes when any of their number was afflicted or death left their family in distressed circumstances. I may say, in passing, that many a time I have seen the hat passed or a raffle gotten up for the benefit of someone of our fellow workers worse off than the general run. The steadiest men would become the victims of circumstances and seldom was there a man who refused to aid. Each one realize that under similar conditions he, to, would be in the same fix. Oftentimes hardly a payday would pass without the necessity of making a contribution for some such purpose.

The Relief Fund, which was organized in 1886, is entirely in the hands of the company. The advising committee of the fund is the only body in which the members have any say. This committee consists of 14 members, seven of whom are chosen by the directors of the company and seven by the votes of the members. The ticket voted upon by the men is nominated in some mysterious way, but not by a vote of the members. An independent candidate who would have the courage to run would be brave, indeed, and I fear would get no more than his own vote, as the ballots must be signed by the voters.

Membership in the Relief Fund is said to be entirely voluntary, but a new employe is not many days in the service before he is handed an application blank by some one in authority over him. The men say that those who don't apply or who cannot pass the examination are quietly dropped from the service at the first opportunity. According to the figures given out by the company, at the close of 1902 over 65 per cent. of all the company's employes were enrolled in the Relief Fund, which is a pretty good record for a "voluntary" organization. Any one over 45 is barred from the relief.

The premiums are taken out of the wages of the members. Mr. Riebenack says the fund is formed by regular monthly contributions of the members, incomes or profits from investments, appropriations of the company and gifts of legacies. He gives no figures, but we are willing to wager that 100 per cent. of the fund is made up of the "contributions" of the members. On a death benefit of $250 the member pays 75 cents per month, or $9 per year. In case of sickness the first three days 40 cents per day is allowed for 52 weeks and 20 cents per day thereafter during continuance of illness. In case of accident 50 cents per day is allowed for 52 weeks and 25 cents per day thereafter during disablement. The company doctor reports on each case. Of course, the greater number of men who report as unfit for duty are not disabled for over a week or two. In the old days a man when sick would be continued on the payroll; now the official in charge has no other course than to cut the man off the payroll and throw him on the relief department. If the sick or injured man is not likely to be disabled for long no one is put in his place; his work is done by the other men, with no expense to the company, while the workers' funds help support their more unfortunate fellow worker. The company claims to give the use of offices free to the Relief Fund; this office is in one of the company's buildings. The company also claims to pay the expense of operation, but, as stated before, the whole thing is practically in the hands of the company, and even the paying members know but little about its workings. As a further inducement to the men to join the relief, it is hinted that such men are assured of permanency of employment and otherwise favored.

I am told that the company makes the relief a paying investment for itself. As I understand it this is about the way it works: A man is insured in the relief, say, for $1,000; during the year the company keeps out of his wages $45. The company, then, has the insurance written by a regular insurance company, though the railroad company issues the policy to its employe. But the $45 pays for more than the employe gets; the railroad keeps part as payment for "collecting." Then, again, the railroad company gets from the insurance company a policy for a larger amount than it gives the employe, so that the railroad company profits by the death of every brakeman it kills or clerk whom it works to death!

The Superannuation Fund is a scheme to provide retired employes with funds to pay premiums on death benefits.

The pension scheme is one of the greatest farces of the times and a very neat way to get rid of old and played out employes, whose physical and mental being has been ground up in the service of the company. The scheme was put in effect Jan. 1, 1900, and heralded with a great blare of trumpets by the capitalist press. As not over $390,000 shall be expended in any one year, the reader can form an idea of its importance. During the first three years of the pension scheme the pensions aggregated $864,713.27. In this period 1851 employes were retired, 381 of whom died during the three years. Say that the 381 who died didn't get anything, the 1470 who remained, if they got all the pension money among them, didn't average $200 per year, and this is what President Cassatt calls caring for the employes in declining years.

But it must be remembered that the pension is graded according to the wages or salary earned. Thus, for each year of service 1 per centum of the average regular monthly pay for the ten years immediately preceding retirement is the basis of the pension. Why is the pension based on the ten years preceding retirement? It must not be forgotten that there has been a steady decline in the wages of railroad men, and the period stipulated gives the lowest average. When it is remembered that with the high-priced officials thrown in the average wage is less than $45 per month the reader can easily figure out what the aevrage pension amounts to. Of the 1851 employes retired, many of them were officials, and this fact helps raise the average pension. The average age of the pensioners now on the rolls is 73 and the oldest pensioner is 91. I doubt if any of them came from the rank and file. As Mr. Riebenack puts it: "It is a population notion that the risks to railroad men arise chiefly from the nature of those avocations which by insurance companies are termed 'hazardous.' By reference to the amount of benefits paid it will be seen that the total payments for sickness are nearly doubt those for accident, and that the total payments for death from natural causes are about three times as great as those paid for death from accident in the service."

Employes reaching 70 are forced to retire, others ranging from 65 to 70 may be retired on the request of the employing official. There are few gray heads in the railroad business except those made prematurely so by overwork. Young men are wanted. They make sweeter food for the insatiable maw of the gigantic monster that devours flesh and blood. No man over 35 years old can find employment with the company in any capacity except in the case of professional men or highly skilled specialists. Under this plan the work will kill off the men before they reach the pension age. Two men known to the writer who were pensioned left the station with tears in their eyes. One of them may be seen selling papers late at night, the other died. Such is the reward of years of faithful service to the great Pennsylvania Railroad!

The Saving Fund is designed to encourage thrift among the employes. The company is the custodian of all the monies deposited and at present pays 3½ per cent. of interest. On Dec. 31, 1902, there were 7,997 depositors. No employe is permitted to deposit more than $100 per month! This gentle bit of irony seems utterly lost on the 90 cents per day men. I only knew of one depositor and I told him he was giving the company excellent data with which to determine how much of a wage cut he could stand. He scorned the idea.

There are 19 branches of the Y. M. C. A. on the Pennsylvania Railroad. Aside from the religious meetings, where humility, obedience, and other virtues dear to the heart of the capitalist are inculcated, these Y. M. C. A.'s furnish a training ground for young men as clerks, penmanship, arithmetic, telegraphy, etc., being taught. In these places instruction is also given in mechanical branches, such as air brakes, lubrication, valve motion, injectors, steam heat, etc. It is a common thing to have a thousand visits a month by engineers, firemen and trainmen anxious to perfect themselves in these branches.

The old time billing clerks are shaking in their shoes over the appearance of a typewriter which, eliminating the skilled penman in the making of waybills, enables the company to fill the places of men with boys at half the cost of labor. These boys are being drilled in the Y. M. C. A. By the way, I forgot to mention that it is the practice of the railroad companies to fill vacanies at a lower wage than the one paid to the former incumbent. Thus, when a man is "retired" on a pension the wage reduction is not only enough to pay the cost of the pension, but makes a saving to the company besides. If you leave the service of the company you forfeit all claim to the "benefits." Even forfeit all claim to the insurance you may have paid. Of course, the company discharges only for reason.

The company claims that these various schemes cost it $639,979.22 per year, which is a very small sum considering the returns it gets. In the words of Mr. Riebenack, "the company's benefits consist in efficiency of the service and also in more firmly welding the mutual interests of employer and employe." Few of the men look into these things; they read about them in the papers and swell up with pride as they read the laudation of the company's greatness and goodness.

They read and forget the black horizon that surrounds them. There are some 175,000 to 200,000 railroad clerks in the country. In the clerical line there are about 5,000 men of importance enough to be called officials, even by courtesy. And yet the young men dream of the time when they will have a title to follow their names. One thing that destroys all idea of solidarity among the clerks is the way salaries are graded. Two men will be doing an equal amount of the identical kind of work and yet one may get $5 or $10 more per month than the other. A pretense is made at promoting according to seniority and merit, but these promotions belong to the officials, who must be conscientious indeed not to favor friends and relatives. I would just as soon take my chances of promotion by a throw of the dice as by the present method, and I think it would be more satisfactory to the rank and file; some of us would get a chance, anyway.

Among the engineers, firemen, trainmen and switchmen there are trade unions, but surely no reader of The People but knows the character of them. If one set has a grievance and strikes the others remain at work. Some of them enter into agreements with the companies and thus fix it so they can't even strike themselves if unduly imposed upon. Not until S. T. & L. A. and S. L. P. ideas control the minds of the railroad men will conditions change. We want the S. T. & L. A. to combat the economic schemes and to help us wrest from the company all that we can, while at the same time pointing the workers to the S. L. P. ballot as the only road to emancipation.

Once a railroad man grasps the principles of Socialism, he never lets go. He isn't many years in the business before he realizes that he will never be able to start a trunk line of his own. Even the hope of becoming an official fades away. Comrades, let no opportunity pass that offers a chance to spread our principles among railroad men, as well as other workingmen. The "just and generous" Pennsylvania Railroad, by its schemes, gets more of the hide of the worker and strives to keep him docile by the fear that he may lose all the "benefits" that the company provides. When, despite all these things, the workers sometimes rebel, the company, true to its capitalist nature, throws aside its "just and generous" mask, and, resorting to violence, tramples on all human rights. In the pursuit of profits, i. e., of fleecings from the working class, there is nothing at which capital will stop. Nor will capitalism cease until the fleeced class decides to wipe out class rule and exploitation. Carry the message to the railroad men.

Authorized Agents for the People

AKRON, O.—W. Garrity, 104 Upson street.

ALBANY, N. Y.—Clinton H. Pierce, 11 S. Swan street.

BALTIMORE, MD.—O Haselgrove, 705 Asquith street.

BELLEVILLE, ILL.—Walter Goss, 701 Bristow street.

BOSTON, MASS.—Frank Bohmbach, 87 Lamartine street, Jamaica Plain.

BRIDGEPORT, CONN.—J. C. Custer, 819 Broad street.

BUTTE, MONT.—P. J. Dwyer, 432 E. Broadway.

BUFFALO, N. Y.—B. Reinstein, 521 Broadway.

CANTON, O.—John H. G. Juergens, 1106 High street.

CHICAGO, ILL.—Frank Hruby, 2632 Monticello avenue.

CINCINNATI, O.—Frank F. Young, 34 East Thirteenth street.

CLAYPOOL, IND.—Oliver P. Stoner

COLUMBUS, OHIO—Otto Steinhoff, 493 So. Third street; Oscar Freer, 222 1-2 N

CLEVELAND, O.—P. C. Christiansen, 78 Fairfield street. Fred Brown, 225 Isabella street.

CLINTON, IOWA.—E. C. Matson, 102 Howes street.

COLLONSVILLE, ILL.—Wm. Veal.

COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO.—L. Gunther, 3 South El Paso st.

COLUMBUS, OHIO.—Otto Steinhoff, 493 So. Third street. Oscar Freer, 222 N. 3rd street.

DENVER, COL.—Charles J. Michael, 400 Club Building.

DETROIT, MICH.—P. Frisema, Jr., 334 Arndt street.

DULUTH, MINN.—Ed. Kriz, 614 Garfield avenue.

E. ST. LOUIS, ILL.—G. A. Jenning, 1525 Broadway.

ELIZABETH, N. J.—G. T. Petersen, 219 Third street.

ERIE, PA.—Fred Uhlman, 656 W. 19th street.

EVANSVILLE, IND.—C. Schaad, 17 E. Pennsylvania street.

EVERETT, MASS.—Chas H. Chabot, 181 Broadway.

FALL RIVER, MASS.—Robert Bateson, 371 Crescent street.

GARDNER, MASS.—Thos. Smith, 18 Greenwood street.

GLOVERSVILLE, N. Y.—M. E. Wilcox, 47 E. Pine street.

GRAND JUNCTION, COL.—J. F. Sloan.

HAMILTON, OHIO.—Ben Hilbert, Jr., 811 Central avenue.

HAMILTON, ONT., CANADA.—Isaac Shapiro, 64 Ferguson avenue south.

HARTFORD, CONN.—Fred Fellermann, 2 State street, top floor.

HAVERHILL, MASS.—Michael T. Berry, 12 Arch street.

HOBOKEN, N. J.—Julius Eck, 310 Garden street.

HOLYOKE, MASS.—M. Ruther, 17 Glen street.

HOMESTEAD, PA.—James Lawry, 701 Amity street.

HOUSTON, TEX.—John J. Loverde, Socialist Labor Hall, 707 Preston avenue.

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.—J. Burkhardt, 204 N. Noble street.

JACKSONVILLE, ILL.—J. De Castro, 714 W. Railroad street.

KANSAS CITY, KAN.—Jos. Trautwein, 1113 Stewart avenue.

KALAMAZOO, MICH.—Charles Peterson.

KANSAS CITY, MO.—O. M. Howard, 1215 Independence avenue.

KERN CITY, CAL.—C. D. Lavin.

LAWRENCE, MASS.—Gilbert S. Smith, 125 Garden street.

LINCOLN, NEB.—Dr. H. S. Aley, P. O. Box 1015.

LONDON, ONT., CANADA—George L. Bryce, 317 Grey street.

LOS ANGELES, CAL.—Louis C. Haller, 205 1-2 So. Main street.

LOUISVILLE, KY.—Thos. Sweeney, 1460 High street.

LOWELL MASS.—John Farrel, 24 Wilder street.

LYNN, MASS.—Jacob Overs, Highland House.

MALDEN, MASS.—Henry Lyndell, 27 Stanton street.

MARION, IND.—Ira L. Hunter, R. F. D. No. 6.

MARLBOROUGH, MASS.—C. W. Doyle, 57 Pleasant street.

MEDWAY, MASS.—John Cunningham, Village street.

MEDFORD, MASS.—George Anderson, 18 Almont street.

MILFORD, CONN.—Gust. Langer, P. O. 774.

MILWAUKEE, WIS—John Vierthaler, 340 5th street.

MINDEN MINES, MO.—A. D. Turner.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—Chas. A. Johnson, Labor Lyceum, 36 Washington avenue S.

MONTREAL, CAN.—J. M. Couture, 793 Mount Royal avenue.

NEWARK, N. J.—A. P. Wittel, 78 Springfield avenue.

NEW BEDFORD, MASS.—Dennis McGoff, 351 Sawyer street.

NEW BRITAIN, CONN.—Roger W. Egan, 200 E. Main street.

NEW HAVEN, CT.—Christian Schmidt, 203 Foster street.

NEW ORLEANS, LA.—Leon Lecoste, 2402 Iberville street.

NO. ABINGTON, MASS.—Jer. Devine.

NOVINGER, MO.—D. A. Reed. Box 127.

PATERSON, N. J.—John C. Butterworth, 110 Albion avenue.

PAWTUCKET, R. I.—Charles H. Dana, 109 Dexter street.

PEEKSKILL, N. Y.—Charles Zolot, 1,511½ Main street.

PEORIA, ILL.—Fred Lichtsinn, 303 Argo street.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Edmund Seidel, 2125 Bridge street.

PUEBLO, COL.—J. T. Vaughn, 1707 W. 17th street.

RICHMOND, VA.—J. E. Madison, cor. Louis and Hollings streets.

ROANOKE, ILL.—Frank McVay.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—Chas. R. Ruby, 861 Clinton avenue, South.

ROCKVILLE, CONN.—Gus Raisch, 87 Union street.

SAN ANTONIO, TEX.—Frank Leitner, 207 Matagorda street.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—E. W. Carpenter, 51 Third street; J. A. Roulston, 305 Larkin street.

SAN PERDO, CAL.—Alexander Muhlberg

SAN JOSE, CAL.—Fred Hamann, 42 Eldorado street.

ST. LOUIS, MO.—J. P. Strupel, 1532 Franklin avenue; John Neumann, 227 Menard street; John Feltman, 1019 N. Compton avenue.

ST. PAUL, MINN.—Samuel Johnson, 594 Jackson street.

SALEM, MASS.—John White, 1 Barton square.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH.—P. C. Nelson, 1,642 Major avenue

ST. CHARLES, MO.—R. H. McHugh.

SAGINAW, W. S., MICH.—Henry Ulbricht, 1015 Mackinaw street.

SCHENECTADY, N. Y.—J. S. Weinberger, Box 557.

SEATTLE, WASH.—William H. Walker, 903 Post street.

SHEBOYGAN, WIS.—F. H. Buer, 620 Pennsylvania avenue.

SOMERVILLE, MASS.—A. Quarnstrom, 23 Wyatt street.

SOUTH NORWALK, CONN.—Emil Singewald, General Delivery.

SPRINGFIELD, MASS.—F. A. Nagler, 141 Highland street.

SUTERSVILLE, PA.—Cyril Sistek.

SYRACUSE, N. Y.—J. Trainor, Room 14, Myers Block.

TACOMA, WASH.—C. M. Carlson, 3609 So. J street.

TORONTO, ONT., CANADA.—Percy Kep, Bracondale, P. O.

TROY, N. Y.—G. F. Bussey, 93 6th avenue, No. Troy, N. Y.

TWO HARBORS, MINN.—V. C. Koneczny.

TUCSON, ARIZ.—M. E. Coggins.

UTICA, N. Y.—John Rapp, 23 Niagara avenue

VANCOUVER, B. C., CAN.—Thos. Barker, 1369 Bornby street. Bert Surges, 233 1-2 Princess street.

WATERVLIET, N. Y.—George McCune, 1234 Fourth avenue.

WILKINSBURG, PA.—J. A. McConnell.

WINNIPEG, MAN., CAN.—Andrew Walther, 299 Austin street.

WOBURN, MASS.—Peter Neilson, 74 Broad street.

UP-TO-DATE
PRINTING
OF EVERY DESCRIPTION
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.
2 NEW READE ST., NEW YORK

WOMAN UNDER SOCIALISM

By AUGUST BEBEL

Translated from the Original German of the Thirty-Third Edition

By DANIEL DE LEON

Copyright, 1903, by the NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY.

PART I.

WOMAN IN THE PAST (CONTINUED).

Another legend represents the downfall of the mother-right in Athens this way: "Under the reign of Kekrops, a double miracle happened. There broke forth simultaneously out of the earth an oil-tree, and at another place water. The frightened king sent to Delphi to interrogate the Oracle upon the meaning of these happenings. The answer was: 'The oil-tree stands for Minerva, the water for Neptune; it is now with the citizens after which of the two deities they wish to name their city.' Kekrops called together the assembly of the people in which men and women enjoyed the right of suffrage. The men voted for Neptune, the women for Minerva; and as the women had a majority of one, Minerva won. Thereupon Neptune was angered and he caused the sea to wash over the territory of the Athenians. In order to soothe the wrath of the god, the Athenians placed a threefold punishment upon their women:—*they were to forfeit the suffrage, children were no longer to carry their mother's name, and they themselves were no longer to be called Athenian women.*"[9]

As in Athens, the transition from the mother to the father-right was everywhere achieved so soon as a certain height was reached in social development. Woman is crowded into the house; she is isolated; she is assigned special quarters—the gynekonitis—, in which she lives; she is even excluded from intercourse with the male visitors of the house. That, in fact, was the principle object of her isolation.

This change finds its expression as early as the Odyssey. Telemachus forbids Penelope's, his mother's, presence among the suitors. He, the son, orders his mother:

But come now, go to thy bower, and deal with such things as ye can;
With the sock and the loom be busy, and thine handmaids order and teach,
That they speed the work and the weaving; but for men is the word and the speech;
For all, but for me the chiefest, for here am I the might and the power.

Such was the doctrine already common in Greece at that time. It went even further. Woman, even if a widow, stands so completely under the rule of the nearest male relative, that she no longer has even the choice of a husband. The suitors, tired of long waiting, due to the cunning Penelope, address themselves to Telemachus through the mouth of Antinoos, and saying:

But for thee, do we the suitors this answer to thee show,
That thou in thy soul may'st know it, and that all the folk may know,
Send thou thy mother away, and bid her a wedding to gain
With whomso her father willeth, of whomso her heart may be fain.

It is at an end with the freedom of woman. If she leaves the house, she must veil herself not to awaken the desires of another man. In the Orient, where, due to the warm climate, sexual passion is strongest, this method of seclusion is carried even to-day to extreme lengths. Athens becomes in this a pattern for the ancient nations. Woman shares, indeed, her husband's bed, but not his table; she does not address him by name, but "Sir;" she is his maid-servant; she was allowed to appear nowhere openly; on the street she was ever veiled and clad with greatest simplicity. If she committed adultery, she paid for the trespass, according to the laws of Solon, with her life, or with her freedom. The husband could sell her for a slave.

The position of the Greek woman at the time when Greece was rushing to the zenith of her development comes into plastic expression in the "Medea" of Euripedes. She complains:

Ay, of all living and of all reasoning things
Are women the most miserable race:
Who first needs buy a husband at great price,
To take him then for owner of our lives:
For this ill is more keen than common ills.
And of essays most perilous is this,
Whether one good or evil do we take.
For evil-famed to women is divorce,
Nor can one spurn a husband. She, so brought
Beneath new rule and wont, had surely need
To be a prophetess, unless at home
She learned the likeliest prospect with her spouse.
And if, we having aptly searched out this,
A husband house with us not savagely
Drawing in the yoke, ours is an envied life;
But if not, most to be desired is death.
And if a man grow sick to herd indoors,
He, going forth, stays his heart's weariness,
Turning him to some friend or natural peer;
But we perforce to one sole being look.
But, say they, we, while they fight with the spear,
Lead in our homes a life undangerous:
Judging amiss; for I would liefer thrice
Bear brunt of arms than once bring forth a child.

Wholly otherwise stood matters for the men. Although with an eye to the begetting of legitimate heirs for his property, he imposed upon woman strict abstinence from other men, he was, nevertheless, not inclined to lay a corresponding abstinence upon himself.

Hetairism sprang up. Women distinguished for their beauty and intellect, and who, as a rule, were aliens, preferred a free life in intimate intercourse with men, to the slavery of marriage. Nothing objectionable was seen in that. The names and fame of these hetairae, who held intimate intercourse with the leading men of Greece, and participated in their learned discourses, as well as in their revels, has come down to our own days; whereas the names of the legitimate wives are mostly forgotten and lost. Thus the handsome Aspasia was the intimate friend of the celebrated Pericles, who later made her his legitimate wife; the name of Phryne became in later days the generic designation of those women that were to be had for money. Phryne held intimate relations with Hyperides, and she stood for Praxiteles, one of the first sculptors of Greece, as the model for his Aphrodite. Danae was the sweetheart of Epicurus, Archeanassa that of Plato. Other celebrated hetairae, whose names have reached our days, were Lais of Corinth, Gnathanea, etc. There is no celebrated Greek, who had no intercourse with hetairae. It belonged to the style of life of distinguished Greeks. Demosthenes, the great orator, described in his oration against Neara, the sexual life of the rich men of Athens in these words: "*We marry a woman in order to obtain legitimate children, and to have a faithful warder in the house; we keep concubines for our service and daily care; and hetairae for the enjoyment of love.*" The wife was, accordingly, only an apparatus for the production of children; a faithful dog, that watched the house. The master of the house, on the contrary, lived according to his *bon plaisir*, as he willed.

In order to satisfy the demand for venal women, particularly with younger males, there arose that which was unknown under the rule of the mother-right,—*prostitution.* Prostitution distinguishes itself from the free sexual intercourse, that customs and social institutions rendered a matter of course under primitive conditions, and, accordingly, freed from objectionableness, in that the woman sells her body, either to one man or to several, for material benefit. Prostitution, therefore, exists so soon as woman makes a trade of her charms. Solon, who formulated the new law for Athens, and is, consequently, esteemed the founder of the new legal status, was also the founder of the public houses for women, the "deikterion,"—official houses of prostitution—, and the price to all the customers was the same. According to Philemon it amounted to one obolus, about four cents of our money. Like the temples with the Greeks and Romans, and the Christian churches in Middle Ages, the deikterion was inviolable: it stood under the protection of the Government. Until about a hundred and fifty years before our reckoning, the Temple of Jerusalem also was the usual place of gathering for the *filles de joie.*

For the benefit that Solon bestowed upon the Athenian male population, in founding the deikterion, he was praised in song by one of his contemporaries in these words: "Hail to you, Solon! You bought public women for the benefit of the city, for the benefit of the morality of a city that is full of vigorous young men, who, in the absence of your wise institution, would give themselves over to the disturbing annoyance of the better women." We shall see that, at the close of the nineteenth century, justification is sought for the regulation of houses of prostitution by Government, and for the necessity of prostitution itself, upon the identical grounds. Thus, actions, committed by men, were recognized by legislation as a natural right, while, committed by women, were held to be shameful, and a serious crime. As is well known, even to-day not few are the men who prefer the company of a pretty female sinner to that of their own wives, and who not infrequently belong to the "Props of the State," the "Pillars of Order," and are "guardians of the sanctity of marriage and the family."

True enough, it seems, that the Greek women often revenged themselves upon their marital-lords for the yoke placed upon them. If prostitution is the supplement of monogamy, on the one side, adultery among women and the cuckoldry of men is its supplement, on the other. Among the Greek dramatic poets, Euripides is the woman-hater: he loved to make women the object of attacks in his dramas. What all he twitted them with appears best from the speech that a Greek woman flings at him in the "Thesmophoria" of Aristophanes. She says among other things:

With what slanderous dirt does not he (Euripides) besmirch us?
When does the slanderer's tongue hold its peace? In short:
Wherever there is an audience, tragedies or choruses,
There we are called corner-loafers, anglers: for men,
Fond of the wine-cup, treasonable arch-gossips.
Not a good hair is left us; we are the plague of men.
Therefore, soon as our husbands return to us home from the benches,[10]
Eyes of suspicion upon us they cast, and look about
Whether a place of concealment conceal not a rival.
Whereupon, none of the things, at first by us done,
Now is allowed us: Such stuff against us
Does he in the men's heads stick, that, if a woman
Is weaving a garland, she is held to be in love; or when,
While hustling the household to keep, something drops,
Forthwith the husband inquires: "Whom are those fragments meant for?
Plainly, they are meant for the guest from Corinthos."

We can understand that this ready-tongued Greek woman should serve the assailer of her sex in such manner; nevertheless, Euripides could not very well have made these accusations, nor could he have found credence with the men, if they knew not but too well that the accusations were justified. To judge by the concluding sentences of this address, the custom—met later in Germany and many other countries—had not yet been naturalized in Greece, that the host placed his own wife or daughter at the disposal of his guest for the night. Murner writes on this custom, prevalent in Holland as late as the fifteenth century, in these words: "It is the custom in the Netherlands; when the host has a dear guest, that he lets his wife sleep with him on faith."[11]

The increasing struggles between the classes in the several states of Greece, and the sad state of many of the smaller communities, gave occasion for Plato to inquire into the best constitution and the best institutions for the State. In his "Republic," set up by him as ideal, he demands, at least for the first class of his citizens, the watchers, the complete equality of woman. Women are to participate in the exercises of arms, the same as the men, and are to fill the same duties as these, only they are to attend to the lighter ones, "owing to the weakness of the sex." He maintains that the natural inclinations are equally distributed among the two sexes, only that woman is in all matters weaker than man. Furthermore, the women are to be common to the men, and vice versa; likewise are the children to be common, so that neither the father may know his child, nor the child his father."[12]

Aristotle, in his "Politics," is satisfied with less. Woman should have a free hand in the selection of her husband, but she is to be subordinate to him; nevertheless, she should have the right "to give good advice." Thucydides expresses an opinion that meets with the applause of all modern Philistines. He says: "That wife deserves the highest praise of whom, outside of her home, neither good nor bad is heard."

With such views, respect for woman was bound to sink to a low level: fear of over-population even led to the avoidance of intimate intercourse with her. Unnatural means of satisfying sexual desires were resorted to. The Greek states were cities with small territories, unable to supply the usual sustenance to a population in excess of a given number. Hence the fear of over-population caused Aristotle to recommend to the men abstinence from their wives, and pederasty, instead. Before him, Socrates had praised pederasty as the sign of a higher culture. In the end, the most promising men of Greece became adherents of this unnatural passion. Regard for women sank all the deeper. There were now houses for male prostitutes, as there were for female. In such a social atmosphere, it was natural for Thucydides to utter the saying that woman was worse than the storm-lashed ocean's wave, than the fire's glow, than the cascade of the wild mountain torrent. "If it is a God that invented woman, wherever, he may be, let him know, that he is the unhallowed cause of the greatest evil."[13]

The male population of Greece having become addicted to pederasty, the female population fell into the opposite extreme: it took to the love of members of its own sex. This happened especially with the women of the island of Lesbos, whence this aberration was, and still continues to be named, "Lesbian love," for it has not yet died out: it survives among us. The poetess Sappho, "the Lesbian nightingale," who lived about six hundred years before our reckoning, is considered the leading representative of this form of love. Her passion is glowingly expressed in her hymn to Aphrodite, whom she implores:

"Glittering-throned, undying Aphrodite,
Wile-weaving daughter of high Zeus, I pray thee,
Tame not my soul with heavy woe, dread mistress,
Nay, nor with anguish."

A still more passionate sensuousness is attested in her hymn to the handsome Atthis.

While in Athens, along with the rest of Greece, the father-right ruled, Sparta, the rival for supremacy with Athens, still continued under the mother-right, a condition that had become wholly foreign to most Greeks. The story runs that one day a Greek asked a Spartan what punishment was meted out in Sparta to the adulterer. He answered: "Stranger, among us there are no adulterers." "But if there should be any?" "For punishment," the Spartan replied, sarcastically, "he must donate an ox, so large as to be able to reach over Taygetus with his head, and drink out of Eurotas." Upon the startled question, put by the stranger, "How can an ox be so large?" the Spartan answered laughing: "How is it possible that there could be an adulterer in Sparta?" At the same time the self-consciousness of the Spartan woman appears in the proud answer given a stranger by the wife of Leonidas. On his saying to her: "You female Lacedaemonians are the only women who rule over your men," she answered: "So are we the only women who bring men into the world."

The free condition of women under the mother-right promoted her beauty, raised her pride, her dignity and her self-reliance. The judgment of all ancient writers is to the effect that, during the period of the gynecocracy, these qualities were highly developed among women. The constrained condition that later supervened, necessarily had its evil effect upon them. The difference appears even in the garb of the two periods. The garb of the Doric woman hung loose from her shoulders; it left the arms free, and thighs exposed: it is the garb of Diana, who is represented as free and bold in our museums. The Ionian garb, on the contrary, concealed the body and hampered its motion. The garb of woman to-day is, far more than usually realized, a sign of her dependence and helplessness. The style of woman's dress amongst most peoples, down to our own days, renders her awkward, forces on her a sense of weakness, and makes her timid; and this, finally, finds its expression in her attitude and character. The custom among the Spartans of letting the girls go naked until marriageable age—a custom that the climate allowed—contributed considerably, in the opinion of an ancient writer, to impart to them a taste for simplicity and for attention to decency. Nor was there in the custom, according to the views of those days, aught offensive to decorum, or inciting to lust. Furthermore, the girls participated in all the bodily exercises, just as the boys, and thus there was reared a vigorous, proud, self-conscious race, a race that was conscious of its own merit, as proved by the answer of Leonidas' wife to the stranger.

In intimate connection with the mother-right, after it had ceased to be a ruling social principle, stood certain customs, which modern writers, ignorant of their meaning, designate as "prostitution." In Babylon it was a religious duty with the maid, who had reached puberty, to appear once in the temple of Mylitta in order to offer her maidenhood as a sacrifice, by surrendering herself to some man. Similarly happened in the Serapeum of Memphis; in Armenia, in honor of the goddess Anaitis; in Cyprus; in Tyrus and Sidon, in honor of Astarte or Aphrodite. The festivals of Isis among the Egyptians served similar customs. This sacrifice of virginity was demanded in order to atone with the goddess for the exclusive surrender of woman to one man in marriage:—"Not that she may wilt in the arms of a single man is woman arrayed by nature with all the charms at its command."[14] The continued favor of the goddess had to be purchased by the sacrifice of virginity to a stranger. It was likewise in line with the old idea that the Lybian maids earned their dower by prostituting their bodies. In accord with the mother-right, these women were sexually free during their unmarried status; and the men saw so little objection in these pickings, that those were taken by them for wives who had been most in demand. It was thus also among the Thracians, in the days of Herodotus: "They do not watch the maidens, but leave them full freedom to associate with whom they please. The women, however, they watch strictly. They buy them from their parents for large sums." Celebrated were the Hierodulae of the temple of Aphrodite at Corinth, where always more than one thousand maidens were gathered, and constituted a chief point of attraction for the men of Greece. Of the daughter of King Cheops of Egypt, the legend relates that she had a pyramid built out of the proceeds of prostitution of her charms.

Conditions, similar to these, prevail down to now, on the Mariana, the Philippine and the Polynesian islands; according to Waitz, also among several African tribes. Another custom, prevalent till late on the Balearic islands, and indicative of the right of all men to a woman, was that, on the wedding night, the male kin had access to the bride in order of seniority. The bridegroom came last; he then took her as wife into his own possession. This custom has been changed among other people so that the priest or the tribal chiefs (kings) exercise the privilege over the bride, as representatives of the men of the tribe. On Malabar, the Caimars hire patamars (priests) to deflower their wives. . . . The chief priest (Namburi) is in duty bound to render this service to the king (Zamorin) at his wedding, and the king rewards him with fifty gold pieces.[15] In Further India, and on several islands of the great ocean, it is sometimes the priests and sometimes the tribal chiefs who undertake the function.[16] The same happens in Senegambia, where the tribal chief exercises, as a duty of his office, the deflowering of maids, and receives therefor a present. Again, with other peoples, the custom was, and continues here and yonder, that the deflowering of a maid, sometimes even of a child only a few months old, is done by means of images of deities, fashioned expressly for this purpose. It may also be accepted as certain that the "jus primae noctis" (the right of the first night), prevalent in Germany and all Europe until late in the Middle Ages, owes its origin to the same tradition, as Frederick Engels observes. The landlord, who, as master of his dependents and serfs, looked upon himself as their chief, exercised the right of the head of the tribe, a right that he considered had passed over to himself as the arbiter of their lives and existence.

Echoes of the mother-right are further detected in the singular custom among some South American tribes, that, instead of the lying-in woman, the man goes to bed, there acts like a woman in labor, and is tended by the wife. The custom implies that the father recognizes the new born child as his own. By imitating the pains of child-birth, the man fills the fiction that the birth is also his work; that he, therefore, has a right to the child, who, according to the former custom, belonged to the mother and the mother's gens, respectively. The custom is said to have also maintained itself among the Basques, who must be looked upon as a people of primitive usages and customs. Likewise is the custom said to prevail among several mountain tribes in China. It prevailed until not long since in Corsica.

In Greece likewise did woman become an article of purchase. So soon as she stepped into the house of her marital lord, she ceased to exist for her family. This was symbolically expressed by burning before the door the handsomely decked wagon which took her to the house of her husband. Among the Ostiaks of Siberia, to this day, the father sells his daughter: he chaffers with the representative of the bridegroom about the price to be paid. Likewise among several African tribes, the same as in the days of Jacob, the custom is that a man who courts a maid, enters in the service of his future mother-in-law. Even with us, marriage by purchase has not died out: it prevails in bourgeois society worse than ever. Marriage for money, almost everywhere customary among the ruling classes, is nothing other than marriage by purchase. Indeed, the marriage gift, which in all civilized countries the bridegroom makes to the bride, is but a symbol of the purchase of the wife as property.

Along with marriage by purchase, there was the custom of marriage by rape. The rape of women was a customary practice, not alone among the ancient Jews, but everywhere in antiquity. It is met with among almost all nations. The best known historic instance is the rape of the Sabine women by the Romans. The rape of women was an easy remedy where women ran short, as, according to the legend, happened to the early Romans; or where polygamy was the custom, as everywhere in the Orient. There it assumed large proportions during the supremacy of the Arabs, from the seventh to the twelfth century.

Symbolically, the rape of woman still occurs, for instance among the Araucans of South Chile. While the friends of the bridegroom are negotiating with the father of the bride, the bridegroom steals with his horse into the neighborhood of the house, and seeks to capture the bride. So soon as he catches her, he throws her upon his horse, and makes off with her to the woods. The men, women and children thereupon raise a great hue and cry, and seek to prevent the escape. But when the bridegroom has reached the thick of the woods, the marriage is considered consummated. This holds good also when the abduction takes place against the will of the parents. Similar customs prevail among the peoples of Australia.

Among ourselves, the custom of "wedding trips" still reminds us of the former rape of the wife: the bride is carried off from her domestic flock. On the other hand, the exchange of rings is a reminiscence of the subjection and enchainment of the woman to the man. The custom originated in Rome. The bride received an iron ring from her husband as a sign of her bondage to him. Later the ring was made of gold; much later the exchange of rings was introduced, as a sign of mutual union.

The old family ties of the gens had, accordingly, lost their foundation through the development of the conditions of production, and through the rule of private property. Upon the abolition of the gens, grounded on mother-right, the gens, grounded on the father-right first took its place, although not for long, and with materially weakened functions. Its task was mainly to attend to the common religious affairs and to the ceremonial of funerals: to safeguard the mutual obligation of protection and of help against violence: to enforce the right, and, in certain cases, the duty of marrying in the gens, in cases when rich heiresses or female orphans were concerned. The gens, furthermore, administered the still existing common property. But the segmentation of handicraft from agriculture; the ever wider expansion of commerce; the founding of cities, rendered necessary by both of these; the conquest of booty and prisoners of war, the latter of which directly affected the household,—all of these tore to shreds the conditions and bonds of old. Handicraft had gradually subdivided itself into a larger number of separate trades—weaving, pottery, iron-forging, the preparation of arms, house and ship-building, etc. Accordingly, it pushed toward another organization. The ever further introduction of slavery, the admittance of strangers into the community,—these were all so many new and additional elements that rendered the old constitution of society ever more impossible.

Along with private property and the personal right of inheritance, class distinctions and class contrasts came into existence. Rich property-owners drew together against those who owned less, or nothing. The former sought to get into their own hands the public offices of the new commonwealth, and to make them hereditary. Money, now become necessary, created thitherto unknown forms of indebtedness. Wars against enemies from without, and conflicting interests within, as well as the various interests and relations which agriculture, handicraft and commerce mutually produced rendered necessary complicated rules of right, they demanded special organs to guard the orderly movement of the social machinery, and to settle disputes. The same held good for the relations of master and slave, creditor and debtor. A power, accordingly, became necessary to supervise, lead, regulate and harmonize all these relations, with authority to protect, and, when needed, to punish. *Thus rose the State, the product, accordingly of the conflicting interests that sprang up in the new social order.* Its administration naturally fell into the hands of those who had the liveliest interest in its establishment, and who, in virtue of their social power, possessed the greatest influence,—the rich. Aristocracy of property and democracy confronted each other, accordingly, even there where externally complete equality of political rights existed.

Under the mother-right, there was no written law. The relations were simple, and custom was held sacred. Under the new, and much more complicated order, written law was one of the most important requirements; and special organs became necessary to administer it. In the measure that the legal relations and legal conditions gained in intricacy, a special class of people gathered shape, who made the study of the law their special vocation, and who finally had a special interest in rendering the law ever more complicated. Then arose the men learned in the laws, the jurists, who, due to the importance of the statutory law to the whole of society, rose to influential social rank. The new system of rights found in the course of time its classic expression in the Roman State, whence the influence that Roman law exercises down to the present.

The institution of the State is, accordingly, the necessary result of a social order, that, standing upon the higher plane of the subdivision of labor, is broken up into a large number of occupations, animated by different, frequently conflicting, interests, and hence has the oppression of the weaker for a consequence. This fact was recognized even by an Arabian tribe, the Nabateans, who, according to Diodorus, established the regulation not to sow, not to plant, to drink no wine, and to build no houses, but to live in tents, because if those things were done, *they could be easily compelled to obey by a superior power* (the power of the State). Likewise among the Rachebites, the descendants of the father-in-law of Moses, there existed similar prescriptions.[17] Aye, the whole Mosaic system of laws is aimed at *preventing the Jews from moving out of an agricultural state, because otherwise, so the legislators feared, their democratic-communistic society would go under.* Hence the selection of the "Promised Land" in a region bounded, on one side, by a not very accessible mountain range, the Lebanon; on the other side, South and East, by but slightly fertile stretches of land, partly by deserts;—a region, accordingly, that rendered isolation possible. Hence came the keeping of the Jews away from the sea, which favored commerce, colonization and the accumulation of wealth; hence the rigid laws concerning seclusion from other peoples, the severe regulations against foreign marriages, the poor laws, the agrarian laws, the jubileum,—all of them provisions calculated to prevent the accumulation of great wealth by the individual. The Jewish people were to be kept in permanent disability ever to become the builders of a real State. Hence it happens that the tribal organization, which rested upon the gentile order, remained in force with them till its complete dissolution, and continues to affect them even now.

It seems that the Latin tribes, which took a hand in the founding of Rome, had long passed beyond the stage of the mother-right. Hence Rome was built from the start as a State. The women that they needed they captured, as the legend tells us, from the tribe of the Sabines, and they called themselves after their Sabine wives,—Quirites. Even in later years, the Roman citizens were addressed in the Forum as Quirites. "Populus Romanus" stood for the free population of Rome in general; but "Populus Romanus quiritium" expressed the ancestry and quality of the Roman citizen. The Roman gens was of father-right stamp. The children inherited as consanguineous heirs; if there were no children, the relatives of the male line inherited; were none of these in existence, then the property reverted to the gens. By marriage, woman lost her right to inherit her father's property and that of his brothers. She had stepped out of her gens: neither she nor her children could inherit from her father or his brothers: otherwise the inheritance would be lost to the paternal gens. The division in gentes, phratries and tribes constituted in Rome for centuries the foundation of the military organization, and also of the exercise of the rights of citizenship. But with the decay of the paternal gentes and the decline of their significance, conditions shaped themselves more favorably for woman. She could not only inherit, but had the right to administer her own fortune. She was, accordingly, far more favorably situated than her Greek sister. The freer position that, despite all legal impediments, she gradually knew how to conquer, caused the elder Cato, born 234 before our reckoning, to complain: "If, after the example of his ancestors, every head of a family kept his wife in proper subjection, we would not have so much public bother with the whole sex."[18]

So long as the father lived, he held in Rome the guardianship over his daughter, even if she were married, unless he appointed another guardian himself. When the father died, the nearest male of kin, even though declared unqualified as an agnate, came in as guardian. The guardian had the right at any time to transfer the guardianship to any third person that he pleased. Accordingly, before the law, the Roman woman had no will of her own.

The nuptial forms were various, and in the course of centuries underwent manifold alterations. The most solemn nuptials were celebrated before the High Priest, in the presence of at least ten witnesses. At the occasion, the bridal pair, in token of their union, partook together from a cake made of flour, salt and water. As will be noticed, a ceremony is here celebrated, that bears great resemblance to the breaking of the sacramental wafer at the Christian communion. A second form of nuptials consisted in possession. The marriage was considered accomplished if, with the consent of her father or guardian, a woman lived with the chosen man a whole year under one roof. A third form of nuptials was a sort of mutual purchase, both sides exchanging coins, and the promise to be man and wife. Already at the time of Cicero,[19] free divorce for both sides was generally established; it was even debated whether the announcement of the divorce was necessary. The "lex Julia de adulteriis," however, prescribed that the divorce was to be solemnly proclaimed. This decree was made for the reason that women, who committed adultery, and were summoned to answer the charge, often claimed to have been divorced. Justinian, the Christian,[20] forbade free divorce, unless both sides desired to retire to a monastery. His successor, Justinian II, however, found himself obliged to allow it again.

With the growing power and rising wealth of Rome, mad-brained vices and excesses took the place of the former severity of manners. Rome became the center from which debauchery, riotous luxury and sensuous refinements radiated over the whole of the then civilized world. The excesses took—especially during the time of the Emperors, and, to a great extent, through the Emperors themselves—forms that only insanity could suggest. Men and women vied with one another in vice. The number of houses of prostitution became ever larger, and hand in hand with these, the "Greek love" (pederasty) spread itself ever more among the male population. At times, the number of young men in Rome who prostituted themselves was larger than that of the female prostitutes.

"The hetairae appeared, surrounded by their admirers, in great pomp on the streets, promenades, the circus and theatres, often carried by negroes upon litters, where, holding a mirror in their hands, and sparkling with ornaments and precious stones, they lay outstretched, nude, fan-carrying slaves standing by them, and surrounded by a swarm of boys, eunuchs and flute-players; grotesque dwarfs closed the procession."

These excesses assumed such proportions in the Roman Empire that they became a danger to the Empire itself. The example of the men was

(Continued on page 6)

---

[9] Bachofen: "Das Mutterrecht."

[10] Of the theater, to which women had no access.

[11] Johann Scherr, "Deutsche Kultur-und Sittengeschichte:" Leipsic, 1887. Otto Wigand. As is known, Suderman deals with the same subject in his play, "Die Ehre."

[12] Plato, "The Republic," Book V.

[13] Leon Richter, "La Femme Libre."

[14] Bachofen, "Das Mutterrecht."

[15] K. Kautsky, "Die Entstehung der Ehe und der Familie," Kosmos, 1883.

[16] Montegazza, "L'Amour dans l'Humanite."

[17] Joh. David Michaelis, "Mosaisches Recht," Reutlingen, 1793.

[18] Karl Heinzen, "Ueber die Rechte und Stellung der Frauen."

[19] Born 106 before our reckoning.

[20] He lived from 527 to 565 of our reckoning.

WEEKLY PEOPLE

2, 4 and 6 New Reade St., New York.
P. O. Box 1576. Tel. 129 Franklin.

Published every Saturday by the Socialist Labor Party.

Bundle rates: Less than 100 copies, 1 cent a copy; 100 to 500 copies, ¾ cent a copy; 500 or more, ½ cent a copy.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York postoffice, July 13, 1900.

As far as possible, rejected communications will be returned, if so desired, and stamps are enclosed.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888	2,060
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	36,564
In 1900	34,191
IN 1902	**53,617**

THE MODERN MACEDON.

Manchuria; pro-Tsar Republican France; systematic Moscovite marriages of German Princesses; Danubian revolts; etc.; etc.; latest of all, Belgrade massacres, that wipe out one dynasty, smothering it in its own blood, and enthrone another. What does it all mean? Are these and numerous other events, that have been transpiring since Peter the Great lived, wrought and left his "testament", isolated affairs? Are they disconnected happenings? To so consider is to misunderstand them, and, misunderstanding to miss the point of one of the most remarkable historic dramas, illustrative of that recurrence in the affairs of nations that furnish the basis for "Philosophies of History" and "Philosophies of Civilization."

Nearly three thousand years ago the small Grecian peninsula was the hive of about a dozen states that rivaled one another in the achievements of physical and intellectual Beauty. North of them lay a nation of barabarians. It was Macedonia. In point of size and population, Macedonia was as large as all the Grecian states put together; moreover, it had the still vaster tracts of land and still more barbarous populations that lay back of it to the North and East to draw from. While the Grecian states were lighting and carrying aloft the Torch of Civilization, Macedonia was steeped in barbarism,—and yet preparing herself to overwhelm, capture and lash the former to her chariot wheels of empire and foreign conquest. The unformulated, unconscious evolution gathered shape under Philip of Macedon. From the date of Philip's advent on the stage, Macedon, with himself as the center, became the pivot around which the affairs of the Grecian states revolved, and from which radiated the operative causes of their actions. Macedonian spies and Macedonian money, Macedonian intrigues and Macedonian statecraft kept them in turmoil, undermined and finally subverted them. Revolts broke out among them; rulers and dynasties were set up, slaughtered or overthrown; pro and anti-Philip parties were formed in their very midst,—till finally his son Alexander, finding the situation ripe, struck the blow that, making of Thebes an example, quietly led all her sisters as submissive vassals to his conqueror's will.

He who would understand the history of modern Europe, of the world, for that matter, will find in the events of that time the historic indices to safe conclusions in the rough as to the present.

Russia has well been termed the modern Macedon. What Macedonia of old was to the many-sided, brilliant and numerous states of Greece, Russia is to-day to the equally many-sided, brilliant and numerous States of Europe to the west of her. Nor is it difficult to pursue the parallel. Attic France, with her pro-Tsar Millerand, pointedly points to Attic Athens and her pro-Philippian orators; military Germany bears striking resemblance to Sparta; Corinth and her colonies to England. And who would deny the identity of features of the smaller states of Greece with those of modern Europe along the Danube; of heavy-paced Boeotia with Austria; of idle Italy and Spain with Arcadia; of Switzerland or Holland with Phocis or sacred Delphi, and so forth; or, looking to the Far East fail to catch the lines of the unwieldly, over-ripe fruit of the old empire of Persia in the physiognomy of China? Facing all these, the world, an up-to-date Macedon of old, stands modern Russia—

The Hercules of nations, shaggy-browed,
Enormous-limbed, supreme on steppe
and plain.

Yes, facing the world, that is to say, America included,—the Rome of to-day, before whose prototype the prototype of the modern Russia bit the dust;—the Rome of to-day, destined, in a much nobler mission than the Rome of old, to stem the tide of barbarian conquest for barbarism's sake, by civilized conquest for civilization's sake.

THE FEMALE UPPER TEN.

Who, what element, is the most vicious, the most malignant, towards the working class?

Is it the plutocrat, the great international financiers? No. They are so far up in the clouds that they know little of the workingman personally. If they can be said to despise him, the expression is only theoretically, abstractly true: they simply think he is below notice, and they don't notice him.

Is it the capitalist individual proprietors of mills and yards? No. They are much nearer the earth, and consequently in contact with the workingman; not infrequently he makes them grind their teeth in rage with his "unreasonable" demands for better conditions, often advanced at unseasonable hours, and productive of serious derangements in his calculations on expected profits. For all that, there is no viciousness or malignancy in his feelings. He hates the workingman, but only in the way that two pugilists may hate each other.

Is it the crew of "intellectuals" in public office, or who seek to get there, and who find the workingman an element hard to understand and harder to manage? No. To these gentry the workingman is but a "nuisance."

Is it the shoddyocracy? No. Viciousness and malice enter somewhat into the composition of the feelings of these people towards the workingman, whose "exactions even on the smallest jobs in the house" interfere with their plans of making their slender purses defray the display that their credit requires. And yet, even here the particular element is absent in which viciousness and malignancy of feeling take their origin.

For viciousness and malignancy a sense of positive immorality is requisite. Viciousness and malignancy towards the working class spring up, accordingly, in those quarters that are aware of their immorality, aware of the working class' essential morality, and aware of the leading a life of sham, false pretence and turpitude. And what element is that? It is the female sex of the upper ten. Nothing can equal in introspective eloquence the curl of the lips, or the twist of the nose on the faces of our the refined insultingness with which these "ladies" pick up their skirts, and even shake them off at sight of a workingman tells volumes of Babylonian secrets. Occasionally the "secret" of it all leaks or breaks through. Such an instance was the scene enacted at a "bucket shop" last Monday in this city. The following account, taken from one of the morning papers, tells the tale in a nutshell:

> Panic, tears, pleadings and promises of "never again" were hurled at Inspector McClusky, of the Detective Bureau, by a crowd of one hundred fashionable women caught in a raid upon an alleged bucket shop at 101 West Forty-second street yesterday afternoon.
>
> The women were plainly persons of wealth, for private carriages were waiting for several of them, and all wore valuable jewelry.
>
> Acting upon evidence gathered by two women sleuths, Inspector McClusky yesterday entered the rooms occupied by "J. H. May & Co." and took the two men who seemed to be in charge into custody.
>
> When the Inspector's gold shield flashed upon the hundred or more patrons of the place, a panic resulted. A score fainted outright, a few attempted to escape past the detectives at the door by main force of arms and everyone screamed in fright.
>
> A dozen or so, in deadly fear of arrest and police court notoriety, fairly begged on their knees to be allowed to go, and when the Inspectr explained that he was interested only in the proprietors, and that after these had been located everyone else would be at liberty, wept with relief.
>
> After giving names and addresses each women was permitted to leave.

Is not the secret, a whole bunch of secrets, out? The secret of the attitude of these "ladies"; the secret of the affluence of Police Officers with such secrets in their possession as the names of these female "law-and-orderites"; the secret—but space will not allow the enumeration of the long list, and shame and indignation at the working class' being "upper-tenned" by such creatures chokes further utterance.

NATIONAL DEGRADATION.

What the Clearing House is, is pretty well known. It is not an institution of the devil, for the fiendish purpose of making the life of the free coinagists of silver and Greenbackists, generally, a life of sorrow and of suffering, as our Populist brothers love to depict the institution. The Clearing House is neither a moral nor an immoral scheme; it is simply a natural, common sense contrivance to facilitate the transaction of financial business. Several banks, upon whom their several depositors draw in favor of another set of depositors, can cancel accounts with greater neatness and despatch if, instead of transferring these moneys backward and forward, their representatives meet with their respective balance sheets and effect a settlement with the transfer of hardly any cash. That's what the Clearing House does. It is, accordingly, a place of gathering by equals, capitalist equals. Stick a pin there.

Now, then, the United States issues large numbers of certificates of payment to employees, etc., and is in turn in receipt of moneys. The Government certificates of payment are drawn against itself, and thus it happens that the Government, tho' not a bank, does business that partakes of the nature of banking transactions. Essentially, the difference is great between the Government monetary transactions and those of private banks; moreover, the Government stands over the banks in the relation of a superior, with even disciplinary powers, such as it neither stands in nor has in connection with the railroads. Nevertheless, based upon the slender banking features of the Government, a plan is now on foot for THE ADMISSION OF THE UNITED STATES AS A MEMBER OF THE CHICAGO CLEARING HOUSE!

It has on a previous occasion been shown in these columns how, in the matter of the railroad interests, an Empire has risen within the national Empire, overshadowing the latter in revenues and with a large retinue of dependents. This Chicago Clearing House scheme is an instance somewhat in the same direction. Uncle Sam is to sit at a "round table," together with a lot of private concerns, theoretically subject to his authority; he is but one to their many; and he will be subject to their discipline, fine and even expulsion, if they choose.

Leave capitalism alone, and the Government will first be overshadowed, and then degraded, until it is brought down to the level of the "rois faineants" of France of old, when stewards ran the country, and upheld their usurpation as "sacred" by visiting with severe chastisement whatever "impious" man raised a hand against the wretched kingly puppets that these stewards themselves debased and kept in debasement.

ROOSEVELT ON THE FLYING TRAPEZE.

President Roosevelt is back in Washington. During his tour, he delivered, according to the cash register kept by an Arkansas paper just 141 speeches. That's a goodly number, absolutely and relatively. And yet, of the whole string of pearls there is not one that can compare with that in which this passage occurs.

"We have no plutocrats in this country. If the people have bad laws it is their own fault."

It were hard, in the whole gamut of reasoning, whatever the domain, to find a more brilliant instance of flying-trapeze performance. When the distinguished "orator and thinker"—to say nothing of his military faculties—starts by declaring that—

"We have no plutocrats in this country";

the crowd at our national hippodrome holds its breath, very much as crowds at smaller hippodrome tents hold their breath when the flying-trapeze performer throws himself headlong down from the dizzy height he had just soared up to. "Will he dash his brains?" is the anxious question, that fills the minds of all present. The identical question must have filled the minds, and caused the hearts to stop beating, when our beloved President got off that line;—a line as obviously in violation of all facts, facts that are sensible to the feeling as to the sight of everyone; as obviously in violation of all reason, as the idea that a human body could escape destruction when hurled down through space; as obviously in violation of social economics as the physical flying-trapeze performer's feat is in violation of the laws of gravitation; in short, so preposterous an utterance that it and its utterer are justly expected to be seen going to pieces the next minute. And yet, not so. Just as in the instance of the skilful physical trapeze performer, a cry of relief goes up when he is immediately again seen swinging, smiling and safe, and once again in line with all the laws of nature, and is applauded to the echo, so in this our Presidential instance of intellectual flying-trapezeing. The popular breath returns, and deafening applause, well merited applause, greets him when he is immediately again seen, swinging, smiling and safe, and once again in line with facts and sociologic laws, on the bar of—

"If the people have bad laws it is their own fault."

Beautiful!

It needs all the error of the first part of the sentence in order to bring all the soundness of the second and closing part of the sentence into striking relief. For the sake of the latter, the former is pardonable, even justifiable.

Bravo! Well done, Teddy!

GREETINGS FROM ENGLAND.

[Written for The People upon the late Social Democratic Federation conference, by Straight Boy, London, Eng.]

S. D. F. conference!
Important consequence
Flows from its action tense—
History making;
Straight lot and crooked lot—
One cool, the other hot—
Rank and file know not what.
Ho! for the waking!

S. D. F. conference:
"Possiblists" after pence.
Straight boys but seek to rinse
Skirts free from mud-slime.
Possiblists' bombshell king
Feels the shary straight-boy sting;
Madly does wild words fling—
Is he not sub-b-blime?

"Let's fire these fellows out!"
Know they what they're about?
Truth struck grows doubly stout;
Hail we the issue!
Strugle but strengthens MEN;
Each flung from that foul pen
Straight multiplies by ten—
More such we wish you!

"Twenty-year comrades" old,
Each has some job to hold—
This said, then all is told;
Bare lies the reason.
Each some dark wage enjoys,
Hence, we are "beardless boys"—
"No knowledge; naught but noise"—
Hence, cries of "Treason!"

Fire away, stark mad crew;
Blind passion ne'er can do
What we will do to you,
Political moocher.
Your's is a spineless ghast,
Middle-class ridden past;
Honest thought, freed at last—
We are the future!

* * * * * * *

Way off in Yankeeland
S. L. P. beats the band—
We grasp them by the hand—
They are our teachers.
Hammerhead, hardened steel
Smites through, from crown to heel—
Hark, how the fakirs squeal!
Writhed are their features.

Big kang and little kang—
Who'd train with such a gang?
Scabs, who scabs' praises sang—
Skum of the dirty.
Minus both soul and sense,
Unmasked their vile intents,
They look like thirty cents
(Judas coins, thirty?)

PEOPLE, that sturdy sheet,
Jerks ground from 'neath foes' feet;
What music half so sweet?
World-wide it teaches:
Wage slaves, in might arise!
Wool pulled from off your eyes—
All done by "People lies"—
Up! at your leeches!

Hurl your fists straight and strong;
Pause not the fight for song—
Sing as ye forge along.
Then, when ye will it,
Compet. sys.—Co-op. Com.,
Transition won't be long;
Life then "one grand sweet song"—
No strife to fill it.

* * * * * * *

S. D. F. conference!
Struggle is on, for hence—
Not past, but future tense
Governs our actions.
Alt. genosse, pure and simp.,
Labor fraud—master's pimp—
Loud howl and badly limp;
Smashed into fractions.

HALO—MILL-STONE.

Every nation of civilization presents its own peculiar nut for the Socialist Movement to crack. Without meaning to say that the nut presented by American capitalism is the hardest of all, nevertheless the stench that is just now going from the camp of the Pure and Simple Labor Fakirs, the allies and petted friends of the Bogus Socialist alias Social Democratic party, may give some idea at least of the peculiar nature of the difficulties that the Socialist Labor Party, has to beat its way through in this country. Just take one of these stenches:

In the fall of 1902 the Amalgamated Painters' and Decorators' Union, which was represented in the Board of Building Trades, made a demand for increased wages and shorter hours for the men employed by the contractors doing work on the Union Club building. The employers refused the demands, a strike followed, and presently the strike was lost, suddenly. What was it that happened?

Here is the statement of District Attorney Jerome, a statement that is but a preliminary of criminal trials that may be looked for soon. He says:

"The employers, most of them, cabinet makers and decorators, then got together and tried to devise some way by which the work could be finished. They finally decided that the best way would be to build up the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators, which is a national association. They knew a struggle would follow any work, because it was not represented in the Board of Building Trades. A general strike on their other work would follow any such attempt.

"They decided that it was absolutely necessary to get the Brotherhood represented in the Board of Building Trades. The President of the Brotherhood, J. C. Bahlborn, of Lafayette, Ind., came on here to talk the matter over with the employers and agreed, on behalf of the Brotherhood, to subscribe $2500 to a fund to be used to pay the proper people to get the Brotherhood represented in the Board. After this offer had been made, an officer of the employers' association, one of the leading cabinet makers in this town, took each one of the seventeen employers interested aside and got each one to agree to pay 250 toward this fund, which was to be used to get the Brotherhood on the Board. I should say that fifteen of the seventeen employers agreed to do this. The other two positively refused.

"At this same time the Union Club itself contributed a sum, which I shall not name, to this same fund. The entire money was handled by one of the head cabinet makers and by a construction company in this city. Most of the money was paid to these handlers in checks.

"About this time the officers of the Brotherhood notified the employers that they would have to withdraw their offer to pay $2500 toward the fund, because the reason for the expenditure would have to be entered on their books, and as a Brotherhood election was approaching the fact that they had spent money in this way might be used against the officers, all of whim were candidates for re-election. This made it necessary to raise the money in some other way; so each of the fifteen employers consented to give up $200 more, making $450 from each man.

"This $6750, besides the amount subscribed by the Union Club (believed to have been a total of $17,000) was turned over to five walking delegates, all voting members of the Board of Building Trades. The result was the admission of the Brotherhood to the Board and, of course, the ruining of the Amalgamated Union. This was a deliberate selling out of a labor union by walking delegates. The Amalgamated strike came to an end at once, and a complete victory was won by the employers.

"The names of the five walking delegates I will not give out at this time. The names of the firms which gave up $450 each are as follows:

"William Baumgarten, No. 323 Fifth avenue; D. S. Hess & Co., No. 421 Fifth avenue; the Hayden Company, No. 520 Fifth avenue; Potter & Stymus, No. 375 Lexington avenue; Herts Bros., No. 507 Fifth avenue; Kimball & Sons, No. 437 Fifth avenue; Allard & Sons, No. 437 Fifth avenue; T. D. Waddleton, No. 160 Fifth avenue; Lowenbein & Sons, No. 383 Fifth avenue; Newman & Co., No. 375 Fifth avenue; Herter & Co., No. 382 Fifth avenue; W. & J. Sloane, No. 848 Broadway; the Tiffany Studio, No. 333 Fourth avenue; Peter Taucharden, No. 173 Clinton street, Brooklyn."

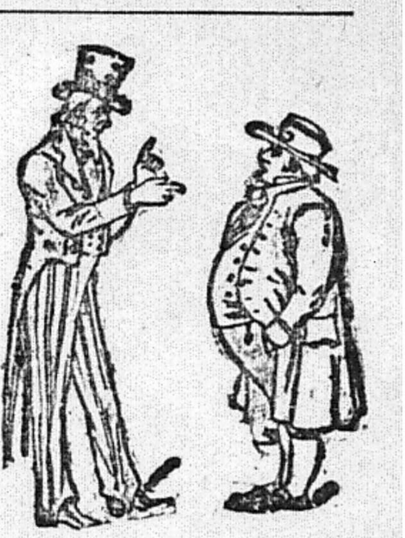
Corruption may break out in any country. It is not the corruption in this instance that constitutes the difficulty. The difficulty lies in the circumstance that, in this country, differently from all others, certain people who set themselves up as Socialists have also set themselves up as the special shielders of these corrupt elements, and have done so in the name of Socialism. In search of cash to keep up their vapid "pecsiness" papers, in search of cash to keep their ranting agitators on the field, in search of cash to feather their own nests, the leaders of the Bogus Socialist alias Social Democratic party have at all points condoned the crimes of the Labor Fakir, they have officially styled these crimes a "noble waging of the class struggle," and, in order to promote still more the flow of cash into their own pockets, they have raised their soiled hands and still more soiled voice against the Socialist Labor Party. Structurally wrong, the pure and simple Trades Union could not but become a toy in the hands of corrupt leaders, and could not choose but be used to the tyrannizing and selling out of the rank and file of the Unions. As such the S. L. P. opposed the pure and simple union by bringing light to the rank and file. But such a conduct meant of course death to the Labor Fakir and to the parasite on that parasite's back—the Bogus Socialist, alias Social Democratic party. Consequently not only had the S. L. P. to be fought by this combination of wretches, but—the Fakir furnishing the money—the Bogus Socialists preached a Socialism that complaisantly adapted itself to the vile needs of the combine.

It goes without saying that such a process rendered hard the path of bona fide Socialism here, and that it smoothed the path of capitalism. But the medal of which such a distressing picture is the obverse has its reverse. The relentless chain of cause and effect produces in the camp of crime stenchful explosions eventually, if not sooner; while, on the other hand, the camp of integrity firmly poised eventually, if not sooner, comes out with all the greater power, in all the greater radiance.

Thus we see a politico-sociologic phenomenon taking place just now that should help to steel the arms of those who realize that wrong must be resisted with firmness and perseverance. The identical thing—the difficulty—that Socialism has to contend against and that has been boasted about by the foe, now appears in its true character:—a halo around the brow of the stalwart S. L. P.; and mill-stone 'round the neck of the Bogus Socialist, alias Social Democratic party.

Capitalist philanthropy is a wonderful contrivance for bamboozling the workers. Some weeks ago Arthur Chamberlain, brother and business partner of the free-trade Colonial Secretary of Great Britain, announced he would raise the minimum wages of adult laborers at his Birmingham establishment to twenty-two shillings a week. Thereupon countless numbers of workingmen regarded Arthur with the bated breath of admiration. Think of it! a capitalist voluntarily raising the wages of labor from a starvation to "a living wage!" Could anything be more noble in these days of strikes for adavnces and increases? But this admiration is not apt to prove long-lived in view of the discoveries now made that the proposed minimum is below that paid in other industrial establishments, and that it is still insufficient to meet the average expenditures of the English laborer. Thus our capitalist is proven to be a dealer in cheap labor of the worst kind, instead of a philanthropist with a halo around his head.

Nineteen manufacturers, representing the principal firms and an investment of $70,000,000, have combined to control the automobile industry. This automobile is new in years but old in capitalist forms of organization. All new industries start where the old ones leave off. This makes it hard for the small capitalist to profit from them



Brother Jonathan—It does seem to me that there is something decidedly perverse in Socialism.

Uncle Sam—That's something new; as a rule, Socialism is sniffed at because it is taken to be too angelic.

B. J.—I don't think it ought to be sniffed at; what ought to be done to it is to burn it out.

U. S.—That's severe. And why that severity?

B. J.—I'll tell you. There are thousands upon thousands of people, nay hundreds of thousands, who are content with their lot and submissive to the existing order of things. I don't say they are as happy as I'd like to see them, but they are happy now with their lot. Down comes Socialism upon them, stirs their discontent and turns their happiness into unhappiness. I say that such a thing is perverse.

U. S.—Let's see. You can't fly. You are perfectly happy with your legs for locomotion; down comes somebody upon you and descants upon the greater pleasures that you could enjoy if you only had wings, besides legs, and could fly; and he prevails upon you so much and he impresses you to such an extent with his arguments about the pleasures you are foregoing for want of wings, that you cease to enjoy your legs and actually grow miserable.

B. J.—Bravo! Well put!

U. S.—And your understanding of the effect of Socialist agitation is of the nature of such agitation for wings?

B. J.—Exactly! Now is not that perverse?

U. S.—Yes; that would indeed be perverse; but such is not Socialist agitation.

B. J.—What else is it?

U. S.—Now let's suppose this state of things: You imagine you are in good health, and are happy in that; nevertheless it is only appearance; there is death gnawing at your vitals; you have a tapeworm inside of you sucking up the substance of your nourishment and thus undermining your health; at times you feel a sense of lassitude, but you get over that, your recuperative powers not yet having lost their elasticity, and you preserve your happiness. Some knowing one comes along and discovers that evidence of the mischievous parasite inside of you; he tells you of it; informs you of your danger, and thoroughly arouses you out of your ignorance on your condition into a thorough appreciation of the danger you are in. Has he not "destroyed your happiness?"

B. J.—He has for the moment; but for my own good. What he tells me makes me take measures to rid myself of the parasite upon me and to become positively happy.

U. S.—And that is good?

B. J.—Certainy!

U. S.—And such is the case with Socialism, and that is what it does for those who, enjoying the happiness of stupor, are disturbed therein, and aroused to rid themselves of a danger not understood by them, but sure to undo them if not overthrown.

B. J.—What danger?

U. S.—The danger of the existing or capitalist sytem. More insidiously yet than the tapeworm undermines the constitution of an individual does the capitalist system undermine the health and, with it, the happiness of a nation. It renders the living of the working people, the masses, harder and harder; it gathers their substance into the hands of a small parasite class, and the day will surely arrive when it will knock them down for good and all, unless that day is prevented by the alarm signal given by Socialism.

B. J. looks contemplative.

U. S.—The only perverseness in the case is the conduct of the paid brood of politicians, pulpiteers and professors, who seek to lull into security a nation that is now being sucked day by day by the tapeworm of capitalism which it ignorantly is carrying in its inside.

Reports from all over the country indicate that "labor troubles" are still keeping capitalist society in a state of seething fermentation. There are indications of capitalists' attempts to check these troubles by lockouts, retrenchment and deals with "labor leaders" who oppose demands for increased wages.

There is no doubt that these "troubles" will continue to rage as long as "prosperity" endures. This is the laborer's opportunity, and he is, naturally, going to make the most of it, in securing what he can; and in sweeping aside all obstacles in the way of his doing so. But when "prosperity" subsides, when the laborer's opportunity has gone, then will crisis and the capitalists' opportunity come. Labor should not forget this: While taking advantage of good conditions, it should not forget the bad ones, and so remembering, determine to abolish the system of capitalism creating them

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, beside their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

Denver Waging an Aggressive Fight.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I spent a little over a week with the Denver comrades and I was sorry to have to leave them, but I had to go out and sell my labor power.

The Denver boys are waging an aggressive fight against freaks and fakirs and I know some Kangs and labor convention delegates who walk out of the way to avoid meeting a man with an S. L. P. button.

The Kangs are working Denver in great style; they have Mills, Stitt Wilson, Strickland and Coates, and we are using such expensive halls as the Colliseum and Tabor Grand Opera House.

I don't know where they get the money, but I suppose the A. L. U. or Western Federation of Miners are putting up for it.

Last Tuesday night at the Colliseum Mills said that he would answer questions written down on a piece of paper. I fired a good straight question at him, but he ignored it altogether. I guess because the reading of it would throw a bad light on the doings of the Kangs.

The fakirs are trying to hurt the reputation of Comrade Veal, as honest and straight a man as ever lived, but they do not dare to come out in the open; they are always sneaking and no one can find out where the story started. I have learned more about the dirty methods of our opponents during my brief stay in Denver than I ever believed would be possible. I hope to be able to do some good work here and I think you will see a list of subscriptions soon.

Fraternally,
Carl Morby.

Lyons, Col., June 4.

Serrati's Proposition.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I read your article on Serrati's proposition regarding the Kishineff episode of modern race hatred, and I think it proper to set forth some observations on the Italian Socialist development in order to fully explain this move.

As recently stated in an editorial in The People Italy is yet far behind as far as capitalist development is concerned; so far behind that I patriotically wish and hope an American invasion would occur there to wake up and overthrow the semi-feudal sleep of the unnerved capitalist class. That would put the Italian Socialist Movement on the true, straight way, for, so far, the Italian Socialists have given us a good many feats of the Millerandist stripe.

It is a fact that they are full of sentimentalism and of good intention, but always forgetting the real thing from whom they take their name.

They are only used to fighting against the brutal authority of the monarchy, and when they have the chance they loudly cry out against the crimes of the government to whom next day they give their vote in order to save the country from the so-called peril of a more reactionary government. So, we had the pleasure recently of seeing the Italian Socialist deputies give their full approval to the war budget as presented by the government. It is Careyism with a vengeance! And we, from this side of the ocean, find it amusing. Indeed, it is to laugh.

When a few years ago, the reactionary parties of Italy helped out by the clergy organized a new "people's party" to resist the Socialist propaganda, the Socialists started a fierce fight against the Christian Democracy, whose main aim was to furnish scabs where Socialists were leading strikes. And the Christians were badly defeated. Well, these Christians were not a bit worse than are the Social Democrats in this free and happy country.

If you take one hundred Italian Socialists, even those who most fiercely fought the Christian Democrats in their country, and you ask them: "How about the two American Socialist parties?" ninety-nine of them will answer that it is simply a matter of tendency, and the one hundredth one will say: "Between both of them I'm of the contrary opinion." In fact none of them know how things are going in America, and when they come to know about the Kangs' crookedness they close their eyes fearing a split, and they ask and pray for them to join together to fight the common enemy, the capitalist class.

Hence, Serrati's move did not surprise me. He knows all about the Kangs' crookedness. He knows about the methods they use to carry on the "class struggle," but all that is worthless to this son of Italian middle class Socialism—and his unshaken faith leads him to shake hands with them.

Well, Serrati can shake hands with them; he can call them "comrades" and even "brothers" as he pleases; he who founded the semi-nationalist Italian Socialist Federation could do something else, too. He could also make the above mentioned Federation a part of the Kangs' organization and even that would not bother us a bit or lessen our moral force.

As a party which doesn't ask because it gives no quarter to anybody, the S. L. P. fights only for the working class interests; so it is glad to have its ranks clean from the doubtful element which gives no aid to the revolutionary cause.

Confusion is the main part of the Kangs' programme. Well, go back to the Kangs. You will find there the clergy and middle class. That is your class, and you will be and feel at home, if you belong there.

Wladimir Signori.

La Salle, Ill., June 3.

America's Poltical Battles.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The editorial in the issue of Sunday, June 7, fairly depicts the political battles carried on at home and abroad and for this reason I agree with the general tenor, but take exception to some minor points, which, however, when explained will more strongly support the whole.

The assertion that "not a member of the Party deemed it worth the while pursuing the run-aways with counter articles in the foreign papers" is not or dignified to answer these articles by quite correct, for, as a matter of fact, I answered some of them, yet my answers have never been published.

Right after the Kangaroo episode various articles appeared in Die Neue Zeit (New Time) a journal issued at Stuttgart, Germany, which were anything but a true picture of affairs in this country, as related therin. Although not a reader of this journal, my attention was called to the said articles, and I was urged upon to contradict them. I was not at all in favor of doing so, but finally I yielded to the moral pressure brought to bear upon me. If my memory serves me right the articles mentioned were written by Phil. Rappaport or Jul. Valteich, or both. Well, I tried to correct the various blunders and at the same time wrote a condensed history of party affairs, culminating in the Kangaroo affair.

Having actively participated in party affairs for the past twenty years and therefore having personally gone through the many trying vicissitudes I could therefore speak from personal experience and not from mere hearsay. My article was sent off and had been duly received, for some time after I received word from the editor Karl Kautsky that he would like to publish the article but inasmuch as quite a good deal had been published from here he could not well afford to give any more space, but would either return my article or forward it to any other paper I would name.

Of course, I didn't care for either, and so the whole affair came to an end.

This refusal in itself is of no importance at all as it happens every day, but it is somewhat singular that all the articles published were pulling in the same direction and so perhaps the editor thought what the majority says must be right, the more so as most or perhaps all of the articles were "alte Genossen" from Germany.

Fred Fellermann.

Hartford, Conn., June 7.

The Agitation of the S. L. P.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Recently I was asked to show wherein the S. L. P. was doing else but chasing Kangaroos and to show where the S. L. P. agitates. To a mind unclouded by graft, ignorance, bigotry or prejudice no answer would be needed, to the honest investigator no answer is needed, because the proof that the S. L. P. is a live, unswerving agitator is so apparent that any man may see if he will but wrench himself free from the meshes of sentimentalism and superstition.

That the S. L. P. is driving the Kangaroos from pillar to post is true. But in like manner are pursued every reactionary element in the labor movement.

While the number is small, the soundness of the S. L. P. is such that its strength is seemingly trebled. Wherever, in the length and breadth of the land, an impostor raises his head there is found an S. L. P. stalwart to show him for what he is. And the inevitable result of this battering on the walls of ignorance will be the building up of the force that is capable of wrenching from the capitalist class and returning to the working class their own.

To the honest investigator I would like to point out what might seem a coincidence. But it is not a coincidence. It is in line with the agitation constantly carried on by the S. L. P. It is in line with the campaign of education carried on by a party formed on a solid basis and hewing close to the line. Such a propaganda enables a man to meet the issues of the day with his eyes opened to pitfalls and the dangers to his class.

As to the seeming coincidence, when I got my Weekly People this week—June 6—I read with interest Comrade Ross' article on "Militarism and the Workers,' showing how the militia was formed in the beginning for conquest and from then until now has been used for purposes of robbery and conquest. Also showing how constantly essential to the capitalist class is the military power.

I had scarcely digested the article when I noted in the Boston Post, June 6, 1903, the supine vaporings of such men, whom, to place in the column of freaks, grafters, misleaders, etc., is called vituperation and slander. The Post quotes under the heading, "Militiamen Not Barred From Union:" "The man who fired the first gun in the command of Admiral Dewey in Manila Bay naval battle was a member of the International Machinists' Organization and carried a paid-up card in his pocket," says Denis L. Driscoll, secretary of the Massachusetts State Branch, American Federation of Labor, and president of the Boston Central Labor Union. Continuing (in part) Mr. Driscoll says: "There are scores of trade unionists in the city of Boston and State of Massachusetts whom I personally know to be prominent members of the militia. It was only the other day that I was at a big labor demonstration, at which the prominent speaker was President Samuel Gompers. When he concluded his speech a prominent lieutenant approached him and handed him a bouquet. . . . While I believe the State militia should not be used to settle differences between capital and labor, I think our young men would do well to join the militia at some period of their early manhood.'

Henry Abrahams, secretary of Boston Central Labor Union, says among other things: "We favor the continuance of the State militia and its having a full complement."

And such is the logic of leaders of a movement that is so-called by the Socialist Party "a noble waging of the class struggle."

Such leaders would try to close the eyes of their followers to Buffalo, Latimer, Chicago, Homestead, the Idaho bull pen and on through the tragic list.

On with the policy, tactics and agitation of the Socialist Labor Party. Push the party press, that the illogical mouthing of such men may fall on deaf ears.

Woburn, Mass., June 7. F.

Mob Cartridge for Strikers.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Hereunder find a verbatim copy of an article published in the current issue of the Scientific American, dated June 6, 1903.

I copy it rather than send the clipping because I don't want to mutilate my file of that paper:

"A 'MOB' CARTRIDGE FOR USE IN STRIKES.

"The many strikes of late years have led army officers to direct their inventive skill to the devising of a bullet that will be not more deadly to armed mobs, but much less dangerous than the one now in use. A bullet from the present rifle will pierce 18 inches of pine at 500 yards; the human body has only a resistance of three inches of this wood. The Ordnance Department has, therefore, devised what is now popularly called the 'mob cartridge,' but which the Department euphemistically terms the 'multi-ball cartridge, caliber 30.'

"The cartridge is composed of a service case charged with a full charge, about 34 grains of smokeless powder, and two round balls held in the neck of the case by a cannulure at the lower end and a crimp at the upper. The balls are made of a mixture of lead and tin in the proportion of 16 to 1, and are slightly coated with paraffine. The diameter of the ball is 0.308 and the weight is 42 grains. The cartridges have sufficient accuracy for effective use at 200 yards, at which range a slight elevation is required. At 100 yards it is necessary to fire point blank."

I am of the opinion that the above, together with sufficient explanatory matter, would make a splendid leaflet for use in strike centers, and if the N. E. C. sees fit to adopt this suggestion I will pledge $5 toward the expenses of getting it up.

Fraternally,
J. R. Frazer.

Dayton, O., June 7.

Stitt Wilson, Clerical Acrobat.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Please find enclosed a clipping from a local paper which was also printed in the Los Angeles Socialist. It is an appeal made to the Presbyterian assembly of preachers and grafters, which met recently in this city.

Stitt Wilson has been holding the mass meetings, speaking now under the auspices of the Socialist Party and tomorrow on some ethical subject under his own auspices; then back again to the arms of the Socialist meeting to arraign capitalism and appeal to its strongest supporters, his brother grafters.

At a meeting where he spoke "Socialism" I heard him denounce the Church as a failure, and deliver a tirade against all such institutions for endeavoring to uphold the "competitive system."

I learned afterward that he is still addressed by his title of Reverend, and on this dishonest basis he attacks the Church, which he "left," and then returns to present an appeal of the kind enclosed. The phraseology is his own, and the indorsement is by the local Socialist party organization.

Fraternally,
H. Norman.

Los Angeles, Cal., June 4.

SOCIALISTS MAKE APPEAL.

They Address Greeting to the Presbyterian General Assembly.

As a result of a series of mass meetings held during the last week by the Socialist of Los Angeles, an appeal to the general assembly of the Presbyterians was adopted yesterday at Simpson Auditorium. In substance, the document impeaches the competitive industrial system as tending to enslavement of the working classes, and says:

"We arraign no individual, but impeach the system which involves all of us in the unbrotherly and hostile strifes of modern civilization.

"We impeach the system as fundamentally unjust in principle, un-Christian in operation, and merciless and heartless in its results on the lives of the poor.

"In the place of the competitive system, now culminating in a plutocratic oligarchy, we urge upon the people the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth.

"In presenting this greeting to you we do not ask you to change a syllable of your creed, nor to cease your evangelism for the salvation of souls. But, considering the fact that you profess to speak the word of God, and to interpret right and wrong to the people, thus in a measure establishing yourselves as a standard of conscience to the nation; considering, further, the fact that social and industrial injustice always takes shelter under the teachings of the Church as long as it can;

"Therefore, we call upon your honorable body to utter that voice of truth and justice and brotherhood which will brand the competitive system as anti-Christ, that it may no longer continue under the mask of righteousness;

"And, further, we submit for your consideration our fundamental proposition that a co-operative commonwealth shall take the place of the present unjust system. And while not presuming to teach the Christian Church from its own Scripture, we do not hesitate to sincerely point out to your honorable body that the system which we advocate is in harmony with the message of the Galilean carpenter, who came to proclaim "Good news to the poor and to set at liberty the bruised," while the competitive system is bruising the poor.

"We, therefore, ask your honorable body to declare itself on this all-important struggle of the common people."

This appeal was ordered sent to the Presbyterian general assembly.—Los Angeles Evening Express.

"The Church" Twenty-five Years From Now.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Regarding the warning given by Bishop Matz, of Colorado, to his people not to join Socialistic unions, it might be interesting to preserve some of these utterances and warnings, as twenty-five years from now "the Church" will be telling about how "we did it"; "were were always the friend of the Socialists," etc., etc.

Methinks, though, that when the line-up comes "the Church" and the capitalists will be fighting side by side.

W. O. Pierce.

Milwaukee, Wis., June 6.

The MacCartney Memorial.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—A MacCartney Memorial, was held in Rockland yesterday (Sunday). There was a large gathering of people, mostly women and children, and about 100 men, not more than 500 all told.

The resolution adopted was similar to the one which was adopted in Boston the Sunday previous.

There is a scheme on hand to erect a monument to the memory of MacCartney, and it is a proof of the "broad principles" which govern the party of many names.

The participants in the scheme are the Union Glee Club, the Commercial Club, the Red Men, the Socialist (Kangaroo) Party and the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

The money is going to be raised by the sale of his (Mac's) photos.

What strange things occur when such men meet the inevitable! He was a member of all the above named organizations with the exception of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.

The Kangs do not try to conceal the fact that they "have met with an irreparable loss." Jer. Devine.

North Abington, Mass., June 8.

Illinois State Canvassers' Good Work in Quincy.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Enclosed you will find list of subscribers taken at Quincy, Ill., for the Weekly and Monthly People—13 of the first, 73 of the latter—secured during the week ending June 6. I sold 60 books and added two new members at large to the Party, both of whom are well read and understand fully the platform and tactics of the S. L. P. and will be good class conscious S. L. P. men.

I got a good many subscribers amongst the striking machinists. These were ready listeners and admitted they were wrong in not exercising their political power in the proper direction.

This is the way I proceed at my work: In the morning, between breakfast and dinner, I canvass the stores and small shops. At dinner time, I go to the factories and during the afternoon I visit the small business places again. After supper, I go to the houses of the workers until near 8 o'clock, at which time I get ready to hold open air meetings. I get very few subs. at these meetings, but dispose of quite a number of books and leaflets.

I am glad to note that you are pleased with my work. Shall put in four more days of hard work here and hope for success.

Yours fraternally,
Charles Pierson.

Quincy, Ill., June 9.

Machen and the Spy System.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Delegates representing the letter carriers of Greater New York, who attended the convention of the Carriers Association held in Philadelphia last year, are now recalling the role played there by Superintendent A. W. Machen, who this week was indicted for bribe-taking in office, by accepting money from a contracting firm who supplied the Post Office Department with boxes, etc.

Mr. Machen fathered the spy system now in vogue in the department and in a speech delivered at the convention in referring to the scheme said:

"Any employe of the service who objects to seeing the 'spy' system instituted in the department is a dishonest man, and in my opinion does not belong in the service in any capacity."

This statement looms up in a retrocative sense, carriers say since Machen has been indicted, and they are hoping that he will not be in a position to exercise his "talents" in any decent community for a long time to come. W.

New York Post Office.

The Party Must Own the Party's Debts.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The S. E. C. instructed me to send the following for publication:

Upon the presentation of the plan of The Daily People Finance Committee to the Colo. S. E. C., it passed a resolution endorsing the plan as the first practicable method that has been suggested of relieving Section New York of the strain occasioned by concentrating upon it the entire burden of securing the credit required by the National Party organs and of distributing that burden over the party at large, forcing it to feel more directly responsible for the party press; and also relieving the organization of the interest on the debt consequent upon securing large loans from single individuals.

The prosecution of the plan was placed in the hands of the State Secretary.

Charles H. Chase, State Sec.,
1729 Walton street.

Denver, Col., June 5.

"Socialist" Heads Movement Against Increase of Wages.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—

He wants to be a fakir,
And with the fakirs stand;
With corruption on his forehead
And discord in his hand.

The following appeared in the Seattle Star of June 1:

"George W. Scott (who is a shinging light in the "Socialist" Party here), president of the newly organized Building Trades Council, says: 'Our intention is to conduct the Building Trades Council more conservatively than it ever has been, and that wages are as high now as they can be raised without detriment to the welfare of the city. Our object in organizing is not to create friction by enforcing rules or raising wages. We have done away with many old rules that were so chafing to the contractors, so that harmony may prevail.'"

This did not provoke the censure of this (many named) Socialist Party.

Who will say that the Kangs are not consistent? The S. L. P. has always said they are a decoy duck. Capitalist organization, composed of political office seekers with a few workingmen to give it coloring. Pat. Driscoll.

Seattle, Wash., June 3.

A Proletariat's Wanderings in Mexico.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Enclosed find draft for $5 of which $2.50 goes to the Arbeiter Zeitung fund and balance of it on my pledge to The Daily People. This is all the money I can send right now.

I arrived here only a few days ago from the interior of Mexico, where I went to find a cure for my diseased kidneys. That's a new one on you, I'll bet. Well, to explain:

Pulque is the fermented juice extracted from the inaguey plant and has to be made fresh every day as it will not keep over twenty-four hours. It is the best thing known for that particular disease and for the reason stated one has to go where they make it if he wants to drink it. I have met many from the States taking the cure and all are beneffitted by it. For myself, I can say that I feel much relieved, though I did not stay as long as I should have done, owing to a lack of money.

I arrived in Mexico City in semana sacra (holy week), but I stayed there one week only. After visiting the most interesting and historical places, I went to the country. The city is a delightful place and without any doubt the cleanest and best governed on this continent. But living expenses are high, that is, for a person living decently; hence my going into the country.

I settled in some small Indian village, where living was cheap enough, but great God, what an experience! I was in a measure prepared for much of it, still it seemed like a terrible ordeal. I consider that I was doing pennance for my somewhat impolite behaviour toward labor fakirs, crooks and freaks. Such cooking! Those native dishes made me see sparks when I tackled them and it was some little time before I acquired the knack of eating without a knife or fork, but I stuck to it pluckily and continued drinking pulque. My funds melted, making it necessary for me to return. These simple and honest people had taken a real liking to me and asked me to remain with them. They have changed but little since the Spanish conquest.

On the way out I was asked to come here and here I am, working on a far better job than I could have got in the States but my pay day will not not come around until the 20th of July, unless I quit or get fired in the meantime. I shall then have a surplus and will pay the balance of my pledge.

The climate here is pleasant, so cool and invigorating, owing to the high altitude, but like all new mining camps the sanitary conditions are barbarous and causing much sickness. Fortunately my work and place of residence are on a high mesa, away from the stink holes and impure air. The camp is quieter than any on the other side of the line.

The Cactus Republic is at present in the throes of a moral spasm. Gambling is strictly prohibited, dance houses had to shut their doors and in the city the saloons have to pull down their blinds on Sunday.

American capitalists are fairly jostling each other to get concessions down here and exploit the cheap native labor. Mexico City is full of them. In addition to the natives many Negroes are lured down here from their homes in the Southern States, mostly by and through the connivance of prominent Negro parsons. I spoke to a party of these poor devils while in the city. They had escaped from their masters who kept them in slavery on a coffee plantation down on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. Saxbera & Co. is the name of the philanthropic outfit that had them Shanghaied. They are Chicago people, and have a most effective way of solving the Negro problem.

Pleased to note that comrades in Los Angeles are on the right track by taking up the work for the party press seriously and letting the bogus capture the freaks.

Yours fraternally,

Cananeos, Sonora, Mexico.
June 4. Californian.

LETTER-BOX

Off-Hand Answers to Correspondents.

S. M., NEW YORK.—What has been said with regard to probing the post-office scandals may be said also with regard to the corrupt practices of Labor Fakirism—it would involve the purchase of mining machinery.

W. O. P., MILWAUKEE, WIS.—The Social Democratic party has no paper in this city; neither did it even try to start one. A few private individuals, however, who call themselves Social Democrats, have clubbed together, organized a corporation and incorporated the same. This corporation has been raising funds; but it has not yet reached the point of publishing. The gudgeons don't seem to be numerous enough to furnish capital to a private concern.

M. O. B., BOSTON, MASS.—The last volume of Herbert Spencer's miscellaneous papers has not reached this office. According to an English critic, whom the Evening Post quotes without naming him:

"The tone is that of one who feels it almost useless to argue with a perverse and misguided generation, which is too thoughtless and impatient to stand still for even a moment in order to look or think whither it is hurrying; a generation which is constantly embarking lightheartedly on the most momentous experiments and rushing down the steepest places into seas of folly and disaster.

"He sees on all hands, in unimpeded progress, the tendencies which he regards as most detestable and pernicious, and against which he has spent so much of his strength in vain; tendencies which he stigmatizes under the title of regimentation, rebarbarization and slavery."

If the criticism is correct, it is pleasing. Herbert Spencer became a regular factory of books. He employed jobbers, who ground them out, and he took the credit. As time recedes, so will the stature of Spencer shrink.

W. G., VANCOUVER, B. C., and J. H. T., TORONTO, CANADA.—Out of charity for the editor of this paper, the N. E. C. has ordered that no notices of expulsion be published in these columns except such as are announced by the N. E. C. The precaution became necessary. This office is controlled in all such matters, in regard to Canada, by the same rules. Your notice will have to come from your N. E. C.

N. C., NEW LONDON, CT.—There are just two features about this new book of Herbert N. Casson booming trades unionism pure and simple and libeling Socialism:

1° The book contains not one single, solitary idea.

2° Providence has willed that the book should appear just at a time when labor leaders, in whose interests it is written, are being convicted of unutterable corruption and tyranny and treason to the rank and file.

R. B., VANCOUVER, B. C.—If there is no Socialist Labor Party ticket at an election the comrades cannot "spoil their ballots," having none. A Socialist entitled to vote, and having no ticket of his own in the field, does not do badly if he does write across the ticket "I want Socialism," or some such words. In the first place, it may leak through how many there were of these protestants; and it is well that these should be known. In the second place, it is well that the capitalist government of each locality should receive intimation that Socialism has taken root there. While the immediate result may be to throw pennies into the lap of some corruptionist, the final result is good. Capitalism ever is less daring when it knows the Socialist is camping on its trail.

M. O., NEW YORK.—In connection with, and notwithstanding the above, the suspension of manhood suffrage in Germany would, in the main, do good to the Socialist movement in that country. Such a measure would divorce the working class element from the bourgeois barnacle that now only hampers it; the measure would, moreover, greatly bring class-consciousness home to the German proletariat, who are perceptibly losing the sense thereof through their political participation in purely bourgeois issues. Such a measure, more than any other, would betray the political blindness of the statesmen now at the helm of the German empire.

T.W., NEW YORK.—The Roman Catholic Church going into the Insurance business? Whether an article on the subject would be acceptable? Sure! Send it on, so that the facts can be verified.

W. E. F., WOBURN, MASS.—Without having seen the gentleman, your instinct is guiding you right. It is true, as it now appears, that he had a government capitalist job for over five years; but it is also true that for over ten years he has been a double-faced slanderer. The one and the other having become publicly known recently, he is now whipped for both. The gentleman seems to imagine that long usage, tho' secret, conveys prescriptive right to exercise wrong.

C. S., PITTSBURG, PA.—It may take some time to hunt up the matter in The People's files. A batch of the Marx-Kugleman letters was published years ago in these columns. If important, let's know and the hunt will be made.

O. S. D., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—Yiddish not being a department in this office, details on the matter are not known. What is known is that the Kangaroo Jews were kicked out of the Jewish Vorwaertz, and are out with a circular asking for money to set up another Jewish paper for Feigenschwarnz to kill. Shall try and get a circular for you.

J. C. H., LOS ANGELES, CAL.—1° The S. L. P. declares that the capitalist plunders the workingman in the shops; and the S. L. P. aims at overthrowing the capitalist. Does it, therefore, occur to any sane S. L. P. man that, seeing the S. L. P. wants to overthrow the capitalist and seeing the capitalist is a plunderer, therefore he (the S. L. P. man) shall not submit to be plundered in the shops and shall starve? Surely not. Just so in the matter of the fakir-led, pure-and-simple union. If membership in one of them, and, consequently, submission to be plundered by the capitalist's lieutenant, the fakir, is necessary to live, no sane man will argue what to do—under the circumstances.

2° This office prefers to abstain from answers on the S. T. & L. A. while the present vote on the Everett proposition is being taken.

A. McD., BRIDGEPORT, CT.—1° A will is attested to by a notary public at the time of its being signed by the testator and witnesses.

2° The S. L. P. platform never contained any plank singling out church property to be taxed. Hence no such plank could have been dropped.

3° To secure a copyright you must send the title and the matter to the Librarian of Congress. $1; or 50 cents.

R. A. W., TRENTON, N. J.—1° The London Justice is private property.

2° The Social Democratic Federation is wiped out in Scotland.

J. H. B., SULTAN, WASH.—1° There is not too much produced, seeing that there are wants mountain-high craving satisfaction and left unsatisfied. But, seeing that the workingman get wages that can buy only a small part of his product, he can not buy the goods he produced himself. Thus there arises a glut in the market.

2° There is plenty of money in the country, but seeing that those who have the money also are fully supplied with goods, they don't buy.

3° Money also is set in circulation when production is brisk and capitalists are operating their plants. But when, as indicated in No. 1, a glut has set in production stops, and, of course, the money that otherwise would be circulating does not. It remains in the vaults of the bankers.

J. O. T., PORTLAND, ORE.—We don't know a single detractor of the S. L. P. who takes any stock in his own slanders. The S. L. P. has an established reputation that renders all slanderers ridiculous.

J. M. C., ROCHESTER, N. Y.—Not so fast. The intellectuals, if they really are intellectuals, have quite a mission to perform. They must BREAK THE GROUND. And their mission then ends. They can't fight out the battle for the working class. The working class must fight out its own battle. Thus the "intellectual" is more useful than some would allow; and a deal less useful than he usually imagines himself.

J. H., JERSEY CITY, N. J.—It is a pretty story. Here it is:

P. Friedberg, a member of the Finsbury Park branch of the Social Democratic Federation of England, sent an article to the London Justice—his paper, as he supposed.

Justice, true to the methods of all ranters against The People, refused publication.

The writer of the article then sent it to The People, and The People published it, seeing it was a parliamentarily handled criticism of the British concern, conspicuously free from the blackguardism that characterized the correspondences from America in Justice against The People and the S. L. P.

Thereupon the executive committee of the Social Democratic Federation, true to the liberty-loving practices of all denouncers of S. L. P. tyranny, expelled Friedberg.

Friedberg's branch refused to be browbeaten, and upheld Friedberg, recognizing his membership.

Thereupon the opera bouffe E. C. of the Social Democratic Federation "dissolved" the Finsbury branch.

And thereupon the row, which had long been brewing, gathered head.

J. J., NEW YORK.—The crisis? Will it come within a year? That all depends upon whether the capitalist magnates succeed or fail in manipulating the Democratic convention. As to the Republican convention, there can be no doubt of Roosevelt's nomination. If a safe Democratic capitalist is nominated against Roosevelt, then the crisis may start before election so as to impair Roosevelt's chances; if a demagogic Democrat is nominated, then the chances are that the crisis will be staved off beyond 1904, so as to secure Roosevelt's election.

R. B. McH., ST. CHARLES, MO.; O. S., REVERE, MASS.; H. J. S., SANTA MONICA, CAL.; W. A. H., TACOMA, WASH.; D. D., DENVER, COLO.; A. S. S., BOSTON, MASS.; J. McG., PROVIDENCE, R. I.—Mail received and appreciated. Send on all the clippings and other documents. They are always useful.

O. M. J., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—His address is 915½ Market street, San Francisco, Cal.

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Secretary, C. A. Weitzel, 256½ Dundas street.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City. (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice—For technical reasons no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

Canadian N. E. C.

Regular meeting held at headquarters, 256½ Dundas street, London, Ont., May 29, 1903, Comrade Courtney in the chair. All members present except Comrade Forbes.

Minutes of previous meeting read and approved.

Communications: From Comrade Nuttall regarding his resignation from N. E. C.; accepted. From Section Vancouver confirming election of N. E. C. and National Secretary. From Section London stating that Comrade Pearce had been elected to fill vacancy in N. E. C.; accepted. From F. Hazelgrove regarding expenses to Brantford; ordered paid.

Secretary was instructed to write to Comrade Barrett, asking for information regarding reorganization of Section Hamilton. Adjourned. Henry Wade,
Recording Secretary.

Meeting called to order at headquarters, 256½ Dundas street, June 12, 1903, George Bryce in the chair. All members present except Wade, whose absence was excused. Ross elected Recording Secretary pro tem. Minutes of last meeting read and approved.

Communications: From Comrade Lazarus, Brantford, inclosing $1.52 for literature sold at May-day meeting, also requesting that the Organizer's charge of $2 be remitted (in dues stamps), as Section Brantford was struggling along under financial difficulties; request granted. From Toronto, giving account of the active propaganda of that section, $10 worth of literature having been distributed recently, as well as carrying on the work vigorously at Toronto Junction; also stating that T. Cadagan was expelled for having overstepped his duties and privileges as a member of the S. L. P. without consent of section. From Vancouver, inclosing $2.50 for dues stamps and informing the N. E. C. of the expulsion of G. Molero on charges brought against him by John Galletty. From Comrade Barrett, of Hamilton, inclosing $2 and stating that a new section, with a membership of nine, had been successfully organized in place of the old section, whose charter had been recalled; Secretary instructed to forward new charter and $1 worth of dues stamps.

Reports: Auditors on semi-annual report, reported progress.

New business: Moved that Comrades Ross and Courteney be instructed to have new section application forms drawn up and printed; passed.

Request from Comrade J. Taylor, Portage la Prarie, that literature be sent him for distribution; request granted. Adjourned. D. Ross,
Recording Secretary Pro Tem.

New York State Executive.

A regular meeting of the State Executive Committee was held in The Daily People building, 2, 4 and 6 New Reade street, Saturday evening, June 6.

J. Ebert in the chair.

The minutes of the previous meeting were adopted as read.

A communication was received from J. Norton, West Troy, read and placed on file.

It was decided to issue a call for a nominating convention to the sections of the State and that accompanying this call there will be a comfunication stating the reason therefor.

The convention is to be held in The Daily People Building, 2, 4 and 6 New Reade street, New York City, September 5.

A suggestion made by the organizer of Section Troy to send a speaker to the interior of the State for the purpose of agitating and organizing was discussed at some length. It was finally decided that such a move would not likely meet with success at present and that it might be again taken up nearer election time.

The financial report was read as follows:

Receipts—Dues stamps, $69.48; Wallace and Lake fund, $19.50; total, $88.98. Balance May 1, $68.01; grand total, $156.99.

Expenditures—Loan to Daily People, $100; Printing Labor News Company, Wallace and Lake fund, $14.75; Postage and sundries, $1.47; total, ..116.22; balance, $40.77.

Meeting adjourned.
H. A. Santee,
Secretary S. E. C.

Missouri State Committee.

Meeting of the Missouri State Committee, Comrade Bilsbarrow in the chair. All members present. Minutes of previous meeting approved as read.

Communications: From Comrade McHugh, of St. Charles, Mo., enclosing check for one Daily People loan cirtificate. From the Secretary of State, asking for proceeding of our last State convention and roster of State committee, with addresses, and location of State committee and roster of the N. E. C.; Secretary instructed to reply.

Special committee elected to look over the books for information on question of loans, reported that the Missouri State Committee owed $19 borrowed money. Report received and placed on file.

Secretary reported he has sent the communication on party press to members and sections throughout the State; written Section Kansas City as to affairs there; received one Daily People loan; was communicating with a sympathizer at Navenger, Mo., with a view of getting him interested in party work; would write to all The People readers throughout the State, with the view of getting them interested in party work. Report received and concurred in.

Motion adopted to order 400 leaflets from Labor News Company.

Financial report: Previously on hand, $20.60; receipts, $4.20; total, $24.80; expenses, $13.35; balance on hand, $11.45.
H. M. Graber, Rec. Sec.
St. Louis, Mo., June 11, 1903.

One Day's Wages Fund.

Previously acknowledged	$48.00
J. Plomondon, Twenty-third Assembly District, city	2.30
D. Baum, city	2.00
A. Anderson, Brooklyn	3.00
J. Neuman, city	1.50
E. Moonelis, city	1.00
Total	$57.80

Fund for Socialistische Arbeiter Zeitung.

Sam Kubrick, New York	1.00
Section Minneapolis, Minn	5.00
George Luck, Brooklyn, N. Y	.50
Progressive Socialist Club, New York collection	5.10
J. A. Anthony, Cananea, Mexico	2.50
Total	$ 14.10
Previously acknowledged	186.50
Grand total	$200.60

Henry Kuhn, National Secretary.

Daily People Birthday Fund.

Gerhardt & Feistel, Pittsfield, Mass	$3.00
Rabenstein, Pittsfield, Mass	3.00
Schmalfuss, Pittsfield, Mass	2.00
L. O. Medicke, Pittsfield, Mass	1.00
T. W., Brooklyn, N. Y	5.00
A. Sater, city	5.00
Total	$19.00

Twin City Excursion.

The sixth annual steamboat excursion given by Sections St. Paul and Minneapolis, Socialist Labor Party, will take place Sunday, July 26, going to Prescott and Lake St. Croix, with steamer J. J. Hill and barge.

Excursion leaves Minnehaha Falls, 9 a. m.; St. Paul, 11 a. m.; returning to St. Paul about 10 p. m.

Fare for round trip, 50 cents.

Children under 12 years, accompanied by parents, free. Only excursion this summer by the S. L. P.

Section Essex County's Officers.

Section Essex County, N. J., at its regular meeting, held on June 7, elected the following officers:

Oragnizer, C. A. Bergholz; Recording Secretary, A. P. Wittell; Financial Secretary, Frank Rapp; Treasurer, Moritz Hoffman; delegate to the New York State convention, C. A. Bergnolz; grievance committee, John Mattick, Herman Harting, William Walker; Librarian, C. A. Bergholz; trustees, D. J. Duggan, John Mattick, C. A. Bergholz.

Section Minneapolis' Officers.

Section Minneapolis has elected the following officers for the coming term:

Oragnizer, C. A. Johnson; Recording Secretary, J. W. Johnson; Financial Secretary, Ben Frankford; Treasurer, Martin Karlson; Literary Agent, C. A. Johnson; grievance committee, Martin Karlson, Ben Frankford, J. W. Johnson; auditing committee, Olive M. Johnson, Peter Riel, Alfred P. Hammond; hall trustees, J. W. Johnson, Peter Riel, Henry Edwards.
C. A. Johnson, Organizer.

Open Air Meetings of Section Chicago.

June 22—Clark and Erie.
June 24—Milwaukee and Paulina.
June 26—Halstead and Maxwell.
June 27—Ninety-second and Commercial.
June 30—Madison and Green.

These meetings will start at eight o'clock promptly. Readers of The Daily People are invited to attend these meetings and get in touch with the section.

Party members are urged to attend and help with the distribution of literature and solicit subscriptions.
August F. Fiedler,
Organizer.

Ohio State Committee $425 Fund.

Gus Duerr, Coshocton, O., $5; Mike Sullivan, Cleveland, O., $1; R. Koeppell, Cleveland, O., $1. Total, $7.

Antisemitism, Its History and Causes
By BERNARD LAZARE.
This book, which was widely noticed in France, is a scholarly and, at the same time, an attractive presentation of the status of Israel among nations, from the beginning of the Christian era down to our own days. The author does not allow the bias of one attached by blood to the persecuted race to creep into his treatment of the subject, which he considers throughout as a problem in sociology.
An elegant volume of 385 pages, cloth, gilt top, Price $2.00.
The International Library Publishing Co., 23 Duane St., New York.

OHIO S. L. P.

(Continued from page one)

visitor asked whether it would not be better to take a friendly attitude toward those not agreeing with us, instead of calling them traitors, etc. He received answers from various delegates, which showed plainly the uncompromising spirit of the S. L. P. of Ohio.

"On motion the resolution was adopted without a dissenting vote.

The proceedings of this convention were ordered sent to the party press for publication, upon which the convention adjourned sine die with three cheers for the S. L. P., the S. T. &L. A. and the Party Press. John H. T. Juergens,
Secretary.

Appendix.

Report of State Executive Committee of the S. L. P. of Ohio, to the S. L. P. State Convention assembled in Columbus, Ohio, May 30, 1903.

Greeting: The last convention of the S. L. P. was held in Cleveland, Ohio, May 30, 1902. At that time there were delegates from Akron, Butler, Canton, Cincinnati, Columbus, Cleveland, Geneva, Salem and Sandusky; 25 in all.

When we review the work carried on in various parts of the State for the year ending May 30, 1903, we can report progress, considering conditions prevailing at the present time. The sections and members are clear as to the revolutionary principles and tactics pursued by the S. L. P. and its organizations. (It might be mentioned that the "logical centrists" played an important part last year by taking away from us the timid and weak ones of Section Cincinnati, who were not able to stand the fight undaunted, namely two in number, and one in Cleveland; the only effect known to this committee.)

Last summer the S. E. C. sent out a State organizer (John D. Goerke) for thirteen weeks, who stopped at the following places: Akron, five days; Barberton, one day; Canton, seven days; Somerdaye, two days; Sherrodsville, two days (no meetings); Cincinnati, fourteen days (nine meetings); Hamilton, seven days (six meetings); Dayton three days; Columbus, seven days (six meetings); Lima, three days (two metings); Toledo, 4 days (one meeting); Sandusky, six days (four meetings); Lorain, two days (one meeting). He sold 357 pamphlets and secured nineteen subscribers for The Weekly People. Rain was the cause of not holding more meetings.

Comrade Goerke looked over the field and surveyed it very carefully and gave the S. E. C. a clear, concise report as to the outlook and clearness of the sections. He organized a section in Somerdale which has proven to be very satisfactory so far. Of the agitational effect and the dresults of his tour, the comrades throughout the State are best qualified to judge for themselves; but your committee wishes to state that his reports were the best and most reliable of any organizer yet sent out.

The S. E. C. received a communication last year from the Washington S. E. C. requesting the Ohio S. E. C. to become one of twenty different State committees to pledge $425 to clear off the indebtedness of The Daily People plant. Your committee replied that it was almost impossible at that time to pledge such an amount. This committee received a request several weeks after, urging us to take up the plan of the Washington S. E. C. from Section Columbus, pledging $50 as a starter. The State committee again took up this proposition and pledged $425 as Ohio's share to clear off the indebtedness of our strong weapon, The Daily People. Several sections and members at large have responded nobly, others have been derelict in coming forward with the cash. The total cash paid toward this pledge has been $258.21, leaving a balance due this pladge of $166.79. It remains for this convention to decide whether we shall fill our obligation or let it drop.

The Socialist Party, better known as the party of many names, has contested our right to go upon the ballot at the last municipal elections at Canton, Hamilton and Cincvinnati, for forging, as they claim, the name "Socialist" to our ticket, notwithstanding the fact that the S. L. P. has been continually on the ballot since 1893 under the head of Socialist Labor. In the fall of 1900 we polled 1688 votes for our Presidential candidate, J. F. Malloney; in 1901 we polled 2994 votes for our candidate for Governor, John H. T. Juergens; in 1902 we polled 2983 votes for our candidate for Secretary of State, Theodore Adams (loss of only eleven, "logical centrists" included). The Boards of Election and the Secretary of State have decided in our favor at the same time regarding the antics of the Kangs. as grotesque. At Canton the members of the S. L. P. were asked if they knew under what name the Kangs. will be sailing next year. (Then they all heard a hearty laugh.) Although the S. L. P. came out victorious it must not be forgotten that it is an annoying expense, which might be used to better advantage in building up the cause of Socialism.

In conclusion, what does this convention intend to do in formulating a plan for gathering signatures to enable our ticket to appear upon the ballot? Last fall, outside of Cleveland, the State only gathered 2705 signatures. Section Cleveland alone gathered 6373. The strain upon Section Cleveland is too much and the comrades throughout the State must realize the necessity of doing their duty in this respect.

The S. E. C. sent out 15,000 campaign leaflets last fall, each section getting the amount asked for. Section Cleveland furnishing her own, 10,000.

The following sections are at present in good standing: Canton, Cincinnati, Columbus, Cleveland, Hamilton and Somerdale. You will notice that Sections Akron, Butler, Dayton and Shawnee have gone out of existence as organized bodies. Each of these have gone down on account of the removal of some and the dropping out of other members. To the stalwarts that are left in the above named places we would say: Courage, Comrades! The Socialist Republic will not fall down from the skies like the manna for the Israelites; we must struggle for it. Keep up your membership at large with the State committee and do battle for your class until again there will be a sufficient number of Socialists in your locality to organize a section.

Receipts and expenditures for the last year were as follows:

RECEIPTS.

Balance on hand May 29, 1902	$123.00
June	27.93
July	44.60
August	67.90
September	92.10
October	55.33
November	46.55
December	114.98
January, 1903	43.75
February	24.90
March	130.71
April	38.94
May	21.00
Receipts	$831.69
Expenses	761.72
Balance on hand May 30, 1903	$69.97

EXPENDITURES.

June, 1902	$28.85
July	78.38
August	98.96
September	123.01
October	52.64
November	18.70
December	117.75
January, 1903	26.40
February	15.65
March	123.04
April	48.55
May	29.84
	$761.72

In submitting this report we trust that the deliberations of this convention may lead to the advancement of our cause; for, "He who would be free himself must strike the blow."

All Hail the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Republic.

The Ohio State Executive Committee.
Richard Koeppel, P. C. Christiansen, John D. Goerke, J. Reiman, Frank Erben, W. J. Holwell.
James Matthews, Secretary.

Third Anniversary of The Daily People.

A regular meeting of the Entertainment Committee of Section New York, Socialist Labor Party, was held at The Daily People Building on Tuesday evening for the purpose of attending to the necessary arrangements for the grand picnic to be held on July 4, 1903, at Glendale Schuetzen Park, Glendale, L. I. The election of a financial secretary for the affair was the first matter taken up, and Comrade Max Heyman, of the Thirty-fourth Assembly District, New York, was chosen to fill the position.

The Organizer reported that some subdivision were making calls for more tickets, which would indicate that the sale of tickets by these organizations must be brisk, and that he had nearly disposed of the first batch of tickets that were ordered. He further reported that, acting under instructions of the committee, he had engaged Prof. Poehland's band to furnish music for the occasion.

It was decided to print 10,000 throwaways announcing the picnic; the same to be ready for distribution at the County Committee meetings the coming Saturday evening.

It was further decided to call upon the sub-divisions of the Section to elect two of its members to do committee work at the picnic, and to send the names of those elected to the Organizer of the Section.

Now that the arrangements have nearly been completed, the committee asks the comrades and sympathizers to do their share toward making this picnic as successful as those in the past by pushing the sale of tickets among their friends. The price of admission, 25 cents for gentleman and lady, should certainly make tickets easy to sell.

Those desiring tickets can procure the same from L. Abelson, 2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

The Secretary.

As to the Proposed Amendment of Section Everett.

According to Section Everett, the days of the "bow and arrow" are past; but Section Everett ought to know that a Mauser rifle is ready to the hand of the worker in the shape of the S. T. & L. A. So soon as the savage understood the use of the rifle he threw away the bow and arrow; but he didn't throw away the rifle. So long as capitalism exists the class struggle will not down, and the workers will organize in some form.

At present and for some time past the S. L. P. has been seeking the intelligence of the working class, and now we are about to say to that intelligence, "You shall not direct the class struggle, but we must leave the workers to the tender mercies of the crooks and fakirs, who lead the workers to believe in the effectiveness of the bow and arrow as a weapon of modern class war." Bernine.

Indianapolis, Ind., June 6, 1903.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

The response to The Daily People Finance Committee's circular by sections throughout the country has been spontaneous and enthusiastic. The plan is indorsed, without any reservation, as the best method devised for liquidating the debt on the party press. The wisdom of having this debt distributed among party members—of having the party own its own debts—is generally recognized and applauded.

The report of the General Committee of Section New York for June 9 gives interesting details of the work accomplished by The Daily People Finance Committee. The total receipts then were $2,000, to which $360 have since been added.

Section Los Angeles, Cal., leads the list of out of town sections, with 17 loan certificates sold. Section Troy, N. Y., sold all the loan certificates they had received, and, like Oliver Twist, cried for MORE! But, unlike him, they got more. The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Assembly District, Brooklyn, is the banner district in Section New York to date. It remains to be seen if the districts in Manhattan will allow this record to stand.

During the week ending June 13 Section Bridgeport, Conn., took the lead in the sale of loan certificates.

The circulars sent to members-at-large are beginning to bear fruit, for remittances and inquiries are coming in—of course, the latter are always cheerfully answered, but the former are more cheerfully acknowledged.

The Daily People Finance Committee is desirous of continuing in this cheerful work, for the debt can not be owned by party members through the amount in hand, so push the good work and make more acknowledgments necessary.

Adam Marx, of New London, Conn., keeps in the front ranks of the workers for the party press. He has some lively competitors, but up to the present time we think he is entitled to first place. He has just added twenty Monthly and two Weekly People readers to his already long list.

H. Weiss, a Brooklyn comrade, who did such good work last week, has done better still this week. He secured five Monthly and ten Weekly subscribers by a house to house canvas, and in his letter says: "I second Comrade Marx's motion that if the Comrades of the party were a little more active The Daily, Weekly and Monthly papers would become the password in the ranks of the working class of America. What is Brooklyn going to do about it?"

Another comrade who has not been resting on his laurels this week is H. Jackson, of Brinton, Pa. During the last week he secured thirteen yearly subscribers for The Weekly and one for The Monthly People. There are other comrades in Allegheny County who are doing good work, but if they will follow the pace that Comrade Jackson is setting they will compel the "Kanglet" to hunt his hole.

Comrade Pierson, of Illinois, has completed another successful week's work. At Quincy, Ill., he secured seventy-three Monthly and thirteen Weekly subscribers, in addition to the work of holding street meetings, selling sixty books and getting two new members.

Other workers for the party press this week are: C. Schmidt, New Haven, Conn., seven Weeklies; R. Berdan, Paterson, N. J., six Weeklies; Fred Brown, Cleveland, O., six Weeklies and four Monthlies; C. H. Pierce, Albany, N. Y., eleven monthlies; Charles Zolot, Peekskill, N. Y., five Weeklies; M. Mannell, Springfield, Mass., ten Monthlies; J. H. Shafer, Ogden, Utah, ten Monthlies; F. P. Janke, Indianapolis, Ind., ten Monthlies; Jeremiah Devine, North Abington, Mass., five Weeklies; F. Hamann, San Jose, Cal., five Monthlies and three Weeklies.

The total for the week is 181 Weeklies and 270 Monthlies. This shows a slight falling off for the Monthly and a gain of ten for the Weekly over the previous week.

Wouldn't it look better if we could report 400 each week for the Weekly and 1,000 for the Monthly? We can get that many if every one will go to work.

The three prize winners who sent in the largest number of Weekly subscribers between May 3 and June 14 are: First, F. Bohmbach, Boston, Mass., 29; second, H. Jackson, Brinton, Pa., 23; third, James Trainor, Syracuse, N. Y., 22.

The prizes were offered by a Colorado sympathizer and are as follows:

First Prize—Four books by Karl Marx, three in cloth and one in paper, namely, "Value, Price and Profit," "Wage Labor and Capital," "Paris Commune" and "the Eighteenth Brumaire," or any other Labor News publications to the amount of $1.75.

Second Prize—"Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," by Engels, and "Paris Commune," by Marx, or other Labor News publications to the value of $1.00.

Third Prize—"Paris Commune" and "Eighteenth Brumaire," by Marx, or other Labor News publications to the value of 75 cents.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe.

WOMAN UNDER SOCIALISM

(Continued from page 5)

followed by the women. There were women, Seneca reports, who counted the years, not as was the usage, after the consuls, but after the number of their husbands. Adultery was general; and, in order that the women might escape the severe punishments prescribed for the offense, they, and among them the leading dames of Rome, caused themselves to be entered in the registers of the Aediles as prostitutes.

Hand in hand with these excesses, civil wars and the latifundia system, celibacy and childlessness increased in such measure that the number of Roman citizens and of patricians ran down considerably. Hence in the year 16 B. C., Augustus issued the so-called Julian Law,[a] which offered prizes for the birth of children, and imposed penalties for celibacy upon the Roman citizens and patricians. He who had children had precedence in rank over the childless and unmarried. Bachelors could accept no inheritance, except from their own nearest kin. The childless could only inherit one-half; the rest fell to the State. Women, who could be taxed with adultery, had to surrender one-half of their dower to the abused husband. Thereupon there were men who married out of speculation on the adultery of their wives. This caused Plutarch to observe: "The Romans marry, not to obtain heirs, but to inherit."

Still later the Julian Law was made severer. Tiberius decreed that no woman, whose grandfather, father or husband had been or still was a Roman Knight, could prostitute herself for money. Married women, who caused themselves to be entered in the registers of prostitutes, were condemned to banishment from Italy as adulteresses. Of course, there were no such punishments for the men. Moreover, as Juvenal reports, even the murder of husbands by poison was a frequent occurrence in the Rome of his day—the first half of the first century before Christ.

---

[a] Augustus, the son of Caesar by adoption, was of the Julian gens, hence the title "Julian" law.

(To be continued.)

The publication of "Woman Under Socialism" began on Sunday, May 24, in The Sunday People, and in The Weekly People of May 30. It will appear in serial form in The Sunday and Weekly until completed, when it will be published in book form.

THE WEEKLY PEOPLE
is now running a series of trade articles. This issue contains . . . .
"Railroad Philanthropy"
The next issue of June 27th will contain an article on
TELEGRAPHERS
An article on the Textile Industry will follow, as well as one on Iron molders
The issues containing these articles should be widely distributed in the trades represented. Comrades desiring bundle orders should order them now so that a sufficient number may be printed.
Rates for bundle orders: less than 100 copies 1 cent each; from 100 to 500 copies 3-4 cent each; 500 or more 1-2 cent each.
IF YOU DON'T ORDER A BUNDLE SEND US AS MANY NAMES AND ADDRESSES AS YOU CAN COLLECT. ADDRESS
THE WEEKLY PEOPLE,
2-6 NEW READE STREET. NEW YORK.

ATTENTION BUFFALO!
GRAND EXCURSION around Grand Island arranged by the Section Buffalo, S. L. P. on the double decked boat "20th Century"
THIS SUNDAY JUNE 21, 1903
Dancing, good music, refreshments, stops will be made. Boat leaves foot of Ferry Street at 9.30 a. m.
TICKETS, ...25 CENTS

REMEMBER "MOZLE" CIGARETTES

GET YOUR OCEAN STEAMSHIP TICKETS FROM J. A. BARRON, PAULI BUILDING, SCRANTON, PA.

Workingmen's Mutual Sick and Benevolent Society meets every first and third Wednesday at 501 East Eighty-second street

They are slaves who fear to speak
For the fallen and the weak;
They are slaves who dare not be
In the right with two or thre

The Monthly People
Ten Cents a Year
The June number of The Monthly People is now ready and being mailed. It's contents are:
The Religion of Capital
A witty satire by Paul Lafague.
Militarism and The Workers
A consideration of the militia question, by D. Ross.
Literature and the Party Press
A discussion of Socialist publications, by Olive M. Johnston.
The Kishineff Massacre
A translation from revolutionary Russia, dealing with the bloody events.
THE SOLID CHARACTER AND VARIETY OF THE CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER SHOULD CAUSE IT TO BE WELL READ AND DISTRIBUTED.
Get to Work, Comrades, and Secure 1000 New Readers a Week for This Paper!
Address:
The Monthly People,
2-6 New Reade St., New York City.